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THE

NAVAL AND MILITARY

HISTORY

OF THE

WARS OF ENGLAND;

INCLUDING,

The WARS of SCOTLAND and IRELAND.

IN WHICH IS GIVEN,

An accurate and lively Deſcription of the SIEGES, BATTLES, BOMBARDMENTS, SEA ENGAGEMENTS, EXPEDITIONS, and extenſive CONQUESTS of the BRITISH ARMS, in all Quarters of the Globe.

WITH A VARIETY OF

Intereſting and extraordinary ANECDOTES of Military Skill and Intrepidity, heroic Adventures, brilliant Exploits, martial Atchievements, and memorable Actions of the BRITISH WARRIORS.

CALCULATED

To inſpire the Riſing Generation with MAGNANIMITY and VIRTUE, and to IMPRESS on their MINDS the generous ARDOUR and NOBLE EMULATION of their ANCESTORS.

NONE BUT THE BRAVE DESERVE THE FAIR.

VOL. I.

ORNAMENTED WITH ELEGANT COPPER-PLATES.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

THE memoirs of great and renowned Perſons, in all Ages and Countries, have been received with avidity, and read with admiration. But in the annals of what Nation ſhall we find a ſeries of noble deeds and heroic atchievements, more glorious and important, than what are recorded of Engliſhmen and Britons? And though no regular hiſtory of them hath been before attempted, they nevertheleſs deſerve the pen of a Livy or a Tacitus, to do juſtice to their merit, and immortalize their fame. Under ſuch hiſtorians, the glowing page would warm the heart of every reader, and fire the boſoms of the brave and free, with that ſacred flame of Virtue and Patriotiſm, that illumined and adorned our illuſtrious Anceſtors.

From the lives and characters of the invincible heroes herein depicted, and the ſingular and fortuitous events deſcribed, the Prince and the Subject may alike derive uſeful leſſons of inſtruction and advice. To the prince, they will teach that dignity of ſentiment, and elevation of mind, which are the true characteriſtics of wiſdom and valour. They will teach him firmneſs in war, and punctuality in his engagements; patience under adverſe fortune, and moderation when crowned with ſucceſs. They will point out to him that affable deportment, yet princely demeanour, which enſures the affections of the people, and the applauſe of the world. To the ſubject they will teach due ſubordination---grateful reſpect---loyal attachment---national integrity---and the love of freedom. The warrior might alſo learn, from the battles herein deſcribed, that ſucceſs does not always depend on numbers; but that a

choſen and undaunted few, may ſometimes overcome a powerful army, when unanimity prevails, with a proper attachment to their leader.

Under the happy Conſtitution of this country, the Soldier and the Sailor, and the Commander in Chief, fight from the ſame impulſe of national liberty and honour. Hence it is that our brave tars, and veteran troops, poſſeſs that ſteady courage and cool intrepidity, ſo juſtly aſcribed to them. And hence, in conflicts of difficulty and diſadvantage---of inequality and danger---led on by good officers, and encouraged by mild diſcipline, they die rather than deſert their poſts---they overcome every obſtacle---they triumph both by ſea and land---and the ſplendour of the Britiſh arms becomes more and more conſpicuous.

No appointment in the Army or Navy, can be held without a certain truſt annexed to it; it is therefore the duty of every officer, whatever be his ſtation, to acquit himſelf with celerity and perſeverance, which fail not to inſure reſpect and approbation. It is not the elevated ſtation that attracts applauſe; it is the activity, prudence, courage, integrity, and humanity, of him who commands. Theſe conſtitute dignity of character, and form the Soldier and the Hero. They draw upon him the admiration and the love of mankind, while trophies of glory and honour thicken round him, and immortalize his name!

THE

THE

NAVAL AND MILITARY HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ENGLAND.

OF WAR AND WARRIORS.

THE origin and policy of war, and the glory of a warrior, ſeem to have conſiſted in the neceſſity of repelling hoſtile invaſion---of ſetting bounds to the ambitious views of arbitrary princes---and of reſcuing injured innocence from the iron arm of tyranny and oppreſſion. The dignity of the military character is therefore of the higheſt conſideration, and cannot be better explained than by tracing it back to the remoter ages of Chivalry and Knighthood; when heroic virtue, and ſkill in arms, were the pride and boaſt of every Court in Europe. To aſcertain the period at which this order ſprung up, and the circumſtances to which its origin was owing, is, however, no eaſy taſk.

In the hiſtory of ſociety, ſuch a multiplicity of collateral facts appear interwoven together, and cauſes and effects run into each other by a gradation ſo imperceptible; that it is exceedingly difficult, even for the niceſt eye, to diſcern cauſes from their immediate effects, or to diſtinguiſh to which, among a number of

of collateral circumſtances, the origin of any particular event is to be referred. The age to which we muſt look for the origin of chivalry was ſingularly rude and illiterate. Even the principal events of that period, emigrations, wars, and the eſtabliſhment of ſyſtems of laws and forms of government, have been but imperfectly, and in many inſtances unfaithfully, recorded. But the tranſactions which took place in the ordinary courſe of civil and domeſtic life, and which, though leſs ſtriking, muſt have always prepared the way for the more remarkable events, have been generally thought unworthy of tranſmiſſion to poſterity, and have very ſeldom found an hiſtorian. Add to theſe difficulties which oppoſe our reſearches on this ſubject, that the nations of Europe were in that age a mixed multitude, conſiſting of the aboriginal inhabitants, who, though either ſubdued by the Roman arms, or at leaſt compelled to retire to the woods and mountains, ſtill obſtinately retained their primitive manners and cuſtoms; Roman colonies, and ſuch of the original inhabitants of the countries in which theſe were eſtabliſhed, as had yielded not only to the arms of the Romans but alſo to the influence of their laws, arts, and manners; and the Barbarians, who proceeding from the northern regions of Aſia and Europe, the wilds of Scythia and Germany, diſſolved the fabric of the Roman empire, and made themſelves lords of Europe. Amid this confuſion of nations, inſtitutions, and cuſtoms, it becomes almoſt impoſſible to trace any regular ſeries of cauſes and effects.

Yet as the hiſtory of that period is not entirely unknown to us, and the obſcure and imperfect records in which it is preſerved, while they commemorate the more remarkable events, throw a faint light on the cuſtoms, manners, and ordinary tranſactions, of the age; we can at leaſt collect ſome circumſtances, which, if they did not of themſelves give riſe to the inſtitution of chivalry, muſt certainly have co-operated with others

others to that end. We may even be allowed, if we proceed with due diffidence and caution, to deduce, from a conſideration of the effect, ſome inferences concerning the cauſe; from thoſe particulars of its hiſtory which are known to us, we may venture to carry imagination backwards, under a proper reſtraint, to thoſe which are hid under the darkneſs of a rude and illiterate age.

Diſtinction of rank appears to be eſſentially neceſſary to the exiſtence of civil order. Even in the ſimpleſt and rudeſt ſocial eſtabliſhments, we find not merely the natural diſtinctions of weak and ſtrong, young and old, parent and child, huſband and wife; theſe are always accompanied with others which owe their inſtitution to the invention of man, and the conſent, either tacit or formal, of the ſociety among whom they prevail. In peace and in war, ſuch diſtinctions are equally neceſſary; they conſtitute an eſſential and important part of the mechaniſm of ſociety.

One of the earlieſt artificial diſtinctions introduced among mankind, is that which ſeparates the bold and ſkilful warrior from thoſe whoſe feebleneſs of body and mind renders them unable to excel in dexterity, ſtratagem, or valour. Among rude nations, who are but imperfectly acquainted with the advantages of ſocial order, this diſtinction is more remarkably eminent than in any other ſtate of ſociety. The ferocity of the human character in ſuch a period produces almoſt continual hoſtilities among neighbouring tribes; the elements of nature, and the brute inhabitants of the foreſt, are not yet reduced to be ſubſervient to the will of man; and theſe, with other concomitant circumſtances, render the warrior, who is equally diſtinguiſhed by cunning and valour, more uſeful and reſpectable than any other character.

On the ſame principles, as the boundaries of ſociety are enlarged, and its form becomes more complex, the

claſſes into which it is already diſtinguiſhed are again ſubdivided. The invention of arts, and the acquiſition of property, are the chief cauſes of the new diſtinctions which now ariſe among the orders of ſociety; and they extend their influence equally through the whole ſyſtem. Difference of armour, and different modes of military diſcipline, produce diſtinction of orders among thoſe who practiſe the arts of war; while other circumſtances, originating from the ſame general cauſes, occaſion ſimilar changes to take place amid the intervals of peace.

None of the new diſtinctions which are introduced among men, with reſpect to the diſcipline and conduct of war, in conſequence of the acquiſition of property and the invention of arts, is more remarkable than that occaſioned by the uſe of horſes in military expeditions, and the training of them to the evolutions of the military art. Fire-arms, it is true, give to thoſe who are acquainted with them a greater ſuperiority over thoſe to whom their uſe is unknown, than what the horſeman poſſeſſes over him who fights on foot. But the uſe of fire-arms is of ſuch importance in war, and the expence attending it ſo inconſiderable, that wherever theſe have been introduced, they have ſeldom been confined to one particular order in an army; and, therefore they produce indeed a remarkable, though tranſient, diſtinction among different nations; but eſtabliſh no permanent diſtinctions in the armies of any one nation. But to maintain a horſe, to equip him with coſtly furniture, to manage him with dexterity and vigour, are circumſtances which have invariably produced a ſtanding and conſpicuous diſtinction among the military order, wherever bodies of cavalry have been formed. The Roman equites, who, though they became at length a body of uſurers and farmers general, were originally the only body of cavalry employed by the ſtate, occupied a reſpectable rank between the ſenators and the plebeians; and the

elegance

elegance and humanity of their manners were suitable to their rank. In ancient Greece, and in the celebrated monarchies of Asia, the same distinction prevailed at a similar period.

Since the circumstances and principles on which this distinction depends are not such as must be confined in their influence to one particular nation, or one region of the globe, we may hope to trace their effects among the savage warriors of Scythia and Germany, as well as among the Greeks or Romans. From the valuable treatise of Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum, we learn, that among the German warriors a distinction somewhat of this nature did actually subsist; not so much indeed a distinction between the warriors who fought on horseback and those who fought on foot, as between those whom vigour of body and energy of mind enabled to brave all the dangers of war, and such as, from the imbecility of youth, the infirmities of age, or the natural inferiority of their mental and bodily powers, were unequal to scenes of hardship and deeds of valour. The youth was not permitted to take arms and join his warlike countrymen in their military expeditions whenever he himself thought proper. There was a certain age before which he could not be invested with armour. When he had attained that period, if not found deficient in strength, activity, or courage, he was formally invested with the shield and the lance, called to the duties, and admitted to all the honours, of a warrior.

Another fact worthy of notice respecting the manners of the barbarians of Germany before they established themselves in the cultivated provinces of the Roman empire is, that their women, contrary to what we find among many other rude nations, were treated with an high degree of respect. They did not generally vie with the men in deeds of valour, but they animated them by their exhortations to distinguish themselves in the field; and virgins especially were

conſidered with a ſacred veneration, as endowed with prophetic powers, capable to foreſee events hid in the womb of futurity, and even to influence the will of the deities. Hence, though domeſtic duties were their peculiar province, yet they were not harſhly treated nor confined to a ſtate of ſlavery. There appears indeed a ſtriking analogy between the condition of the women among the rude ſoldiers of Sparta, and the rank which they occupied among the warlike cantons of Germany. Perhaps, indeed, the German were ſtill more honourable than the Spartan women; as they were taught to wield the magic weapons of ſuperſtition, which in Greece were appropriated to the prieſts.

It appears, therefore, that, in the foreſts of Germany at leaſt, if not in the more northern regions of Aſia and Europe, the conquerors of the Roman empire, before they penetrated into its provinces, treated their women with a degree of reſpect unknown to moſt of the nations of antiquity; that the character of the warrior was likewiſe highly honourable, being underſtood to unite all thoſe qualities which were in the higheſt eſtimation.

When thoſe nations ſallied from their deſerts and foreſts, over-ran the Roman empire, and eſtabliſhed themſelves in its provinces, the change which took place on their circumſtances was remarkable; and, by a natural influence, it could not but produce an equally remarkable change on the habits, cuſtoms, and manners. The great outlines might ſtill remain; but they could not now fail to be filled up in a different manner. Here, however, the records of hiſtory are peculiarly imperfect. We have no Cæſar or Tacitus to ſupply facts or direct our reaſonings; the Gothic nations had not yet learned to read and write; and the Romans were ſo depreſſed under the ſenſe of their own miſeries, as to be negligent of the changes which happened around them. But, as ſoon as the light of hiſtory

hiſtory begins again to dawn, we find that the leading features of the barbarian character were not effaced, but only modified in a particular manner, in conſequence of their mixing among a more poliſhed people, becoming acquainted with the luxuries of life, and acquiring extenſive power and property.

Thoſe who fought on horſeback now began to be diſtinguiſhed with peculiar honours. The manners of the warrior too were become more cultivated, and his ſpirit more humane. Leiſure and opulence, with the influence of a poliſhed people, even though in a ſtate of ſlavery, taught thoſe barbarians to aſpire after more refined pleaſures and more ſplendid amuſements than thoſe which they had been before ſatisfied with. The influence of Chriſtianity too, which, though groſsly corrupted, was ſtill favourable to the ſocial happineſs of mankind, concurred to poliſh their manners and exalt their character. Hence, in the end of the tenth and in the beginning of the eleventh century, we ſee Knighthood, with that romantic gallantry, piety, and humanity, by which it was principally diſtinguiſhed, make its appearance.

The paſſion for arms among the Germanic ſtates, was now carried to extremity. It was amidſt ſcenes of death and peril that the young were educated: it was by valour and feats of proweſs that the ambitious ſignalized their manhood. All the honours they knew were allotted to the brave. The ſword opened the path to glory. It was in the field that the ingenious and the noble flattered moſt their pride, and acquired an aſcendancy. The ſtrength of their bodies, and the vigour of their counſels, ſurrounded them with warriors, and lifted them to command.

But, among theſe nations, when the individual felt the call of valour, and wiſhed to try his ſtrength againſt an enemy, he could not of his own authority take the lance and the javelin. The admiſſion of their

youth to the privilege of bearing arms was a matter of too much importance to be left to chance or their own choice. A form was invented by which they were advanced to that honour.

The council of the diſtrict, or of the canton to which the candidate belonged, was aſſembled. His age and his qualifications were inquired into; and, if he was deemed worthy of being admitted to the privileges of a ſoldier, (a chieftain,) his father or one of his kindred adorned him with a ſhield and the lance. In conſequence of this ſolemnity, he prepared to diſtinguiſh himſelf; his mind opened to the cares of the public; and the domeſtic concerns, or the offices of the family from which he had ſprung, were no longer the objects of his attention. To this ceremony, ſo ſimple and ſo intereſting, the inſtitution of Knighthood is indebted for its riſe.

Knighthood, however, as a ſyſtem, known under the denomination of Chivalry, is to be dated only from the eleventh century. All Europe being reduced to a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion on the decline of the houſe of Charlemagne, every proprietor of a manor or lordſhip became a petty ſovereign; the manſion-houſe was fortified by a moat, defended by a guard, and called a caſtle. The governor had a party of 700 or 800 men at his command; and with theſe he uſed frequently to make excurſions, which commonly ended in a battle with the lord of ſome petty ſtate of the ſame kind, whoſe caſtle was then pillaged, and the women and treaſures borne off by the conqueror. During this ſtate of univerſal hoſtility, there was no friendly communications between the provinces, nor any high roads from one part of the kingdom to another: the wealthy traders, who then travelled from place to place with their merchandiſe and their families, were in perpetual danger; the lord of almoſt every caſtle extorted ſomething from them on the road; and at laſt,

laſt, ſome one more rapacious than the reſt, ſeized upon the whole of the cargo, and bore off the women for his own uſe.

Thus caſtles became the warehouſes of all kinds of rich merchandiſe, and the priſons of the diſtreſſed females whoſe fathers or lovers had been plundered or ſlain, and who, being therefore ſeldom diſpoſed to take the thief or murderer into favour, were in continual danger of a rape.

But, as ſome are diſtinguiſhed by virtue even in the moſt general defection, it happened that many lords inſenſibly aſſociated to repreſs thoſe ſallies of violence and rapine, to ſecure property, and protect the ladies. Among theſe were many lords of great fiefs; and the aſſociation was at length ſtrengthened by a ſolemn vow, and received the ſanction of a religious ceremony. As the firſt knights were men of the higheſt rank, and the largeſt poſſeſſions, ſuch having moſt to loſe, and the leaſt temptation to ſteal, the fraternity was regarded with a kind of reverence, even by thoſe againſt whom it was formed. Admiſſion into the order was deemed the higheſt honour; many extraordinary qualifications were required in a candidate, and many new ceremonies were added at his creation. After having faſted from ſun-riſe, confeſſed himſelf, and received the ſacament, he was dreſſed in a white tunic, and placed by himſelf at a ſide-table, where he was neither to ſpeak, to ſmile, nor to eat; while the knights and ladies, who were to perform the principal parts of the ceremony, were eating, drinking, and making merry, at the great table. At night his armour was conveyed to the church where the ceremony was performed; and here having watched it till the morning, he advanced with his ſword hanging about his neck, and received the benediction of the prieſt. He then kneeled down before the lady who was to put on his armour, who, being aſſiſted by perſons of the firſt rank, buckled on his ſpurs, put an helmet on his head, and accoutred him

him with a coat of mail, a cuiraſs, bracelets, cuiſſes, and guantlets.

Being thus armed cap-a-pee, the knight who dubbed him ſtruck him three times over the ſhoulder with the flat-ſide of his ſword, in the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George. He was then obliged to watch all night in his armour, with his ſword girded, and his lance in his hand. From this time the knight devoted himſelf to the redreſs of thoſe wrongs which "patient merit of the unworthy takes;" to ſecure merchants from the rapacious cruelty of banditti, and women from raviſhers, to whoſe power they were, by the particular confuſion of the times, continually expoſed.

From this view of the origin of chivalry, it will be eaſy to account for the caſtle, the moat, and the bridge, which are found in romances; and as to the dwarf, he was a conſtant appendage to the rank and fortune of thoſe times, and no caſtle therefore could be without him. The dwarf and the buffoon were then introduced to kill time, as the card-table is at preſent. It will alſo be able to account for the multitude of of captive ladies whom the knights, upon ſeizing a caſtle, ſet at liberty; and for the prodigious quantities of uſeleſs gold and ſilver veſſels, rich ſtuffs, and other merchandiſe, with which many apartments in theſe caſtles are ſaid to have been filled.

The principal lords who entered into the confraternity of knights, uſed to ſend their ſons to each other to be educated, far from their parents, in the myſtery of chivalry. Theſe youths, before they arrived at the age of twenty-one, were called bachelors, or bas chevaliers, inferior knights, and at that age were qualified to receive the order.

So honourable was the origin of an inſtitution, commonly conſidered as the reſult of caprice and the ſource of extravagance; but which, on the contrary, roſe naturally from the ſtate of ſociety in thoſe times,

and had a very ſerious effect in refining the manners of the European nations. Valour, humanity, courteſy, juſtice, honour, were its characteriſtics: and to theſe were added religion; which, by infuſing a large portion of enthuſiaſtic zeal, carried them all to a romantic exceſs, wonderfully ſuited to the genius of the age, and productive of the greateſt and moſt permanent effects both upon policy and manners. War was carried on with leſs ferocity, when humanity no leſs than courage came to be deemed the ornament of knighthood, and knighthood a diſtinction ſuperior to royalty, and an honour which princes were proud to receive from the hands of private gentlemen: more gentle and poliſhed manners were introduced, when courteſy was recommended as the moſt amiable of knightly virtues, and every knight devoted himſelf to the ſervice of a lady: violence and oppreſſion decreaſed, when it was accounted meritorious to check and to puniſh them: a ſcrupulous adherence to truth, with the moſt religious attention to fulfil every engagement, but particularly thoſe between the ſexes as more eaſily violated, became the diſtinguiſhing character of a gentleman, becauſe chivalry was regarded as the ſchool of honour, and inculcated the moſt delicate ſenſibility with reſpect to that point; and valour, ſeconded by ſo many motives of love, religion, and virtue, became altogether irreſiſtable.

That the ſpirit of chivalry ſometimes roſe to an extravagant height, and had often a pernicious tendency, muſt however be allowed. In Spain, under the influence of a romantic gallantry, it gave birth to a ſeries of wild adventures; for the ardour of redreſſing wrongs ſeized many knights ſo powerfully, that, attended by eſquires, they wandered about in ſearch of objects whoſe misfortunes and miſery required their aſſiſtance and ſuccour. And, as ladies engaged more particularly their attention, the relief of unfortunate damſels was the atchievement they moſt courted. This was the riſe

of

of knights-errant, whoſe adventures produced ſo many romantic novels; but the love of the marvellous came to interfere; fancy was indulged in her wildeſt exaggerations; and poetry gave her charms to the moſt monſtrous fictions, and to ſcenes the moſt unnatural and gigantic, until they were deſervedly ridiculed in the character of Don Quixote, &c.

In the train of Norman ambition, it extinguiſhed the liberties of England, and deluged Italy in blood: and at the call of ſuperſtition, and as the engine of papal power, it deſolated Aſia under the banner of the croſs. But theſe ought not to conſidered as arguments againſt an inſtitution laudable in itſelf, and neceſſary at the time of its foundation: and thoſe who pretend to deſpiſe it, the advocates of ancient barbariſm and ancient ruſticity, ought to remember, that chivalry not only firſt taught mankind to carry the civilities of peace into the operations of war, and to mingle politeneſs with the uſe of the ſword; but rouſed the ſoul from its lethargy, invigorated the human character even while it ſoftened it, and produced exploits which antiquity cannot parallel. Nor ought they to forget, that it gave variety, elegance, and pleaſure, to the intercourſe of life, by making woman a more eſſential part of ſociety; and is therefore intitled to our gratitude, though the point of honour, and the refinements in gallantry, its more doubtful effects, ſhould be excluded from the improvement of modern manners.

To illuſtrate this topic more particularly, we may obſerve, that women, among the ancient Greeks and Romans, ſeem to have been conſidered merely as objects of ſenſuality, or of domeſtic conveniency: they were devoted to a ſtate of ſecluſion and obſcurity, had few attentions paid them, and were permitted to take as little ſhare in the converſation as in the general commerce of life. But the northern nations, who paid a kind of devotion to the ſofter ſex, even in their native

foreſts,

foreſts, had no ſooner ſettled themſelves in the provinces of the Roman empire, than the female character began to aſſume new conſequence. Thoſe fierce barbarians, who ſeemed to thirſt only for blood, who involved in one undiſtinguiſhing ruin the monuments of ancient grandeur and ancient ingenuity, and who devoted to the flames the knowledge of ages, always forbore to offer any violence to the women. They brought along with them the reſpectful gallantry of the north, which had power even to reſtrain their ſavage ferocity; and they introduced into the weſt of Europe a generoſity of ſentiment, and a complaiſance toward the ladies, to which the moſt poliſhed nations of antiquity were ſtrangers.---Theſe ſentiments of generous gallantry were foſtered by the inſtitution of chivalry, which lifted woman yet higher in the ſcale of life. Inſtead of being nobody in ſociety, ſhe became its primum mobile. Every knight devoting himſelf to danger declared himſelf the humble ſervant of ſome lady, and that lady was often the object of his love. Her honour was ſuppoſed to be intimately connected with his, and her ſmile was the reward of his valour: for her he attacked, for her he defended, and for her he ſhed his blood. Courage, animated by ſo powerful a motive, loſt ſight of every thing but enterpriſe: incredible toils were chearfully endured, incredible actions were performed, and adventures ſeemingly fabulous were more than realiſed. The effect was reciprocal. Women, proud of their influence, became worthy of the heroiſm which they had inſpired: they were not to be approached but by the high-minded and the brave; and men then could only be admitted to the boſom of the chaſte fair after proving their fidelity and affection by years of perſeverance and of peril.

Again, as to the change which took place in the operations of war, it may be obſerved, that the perfect hero of antiquity was ſuperior to fear, but he made uſe of

every artifice to annoy his enemy: impelled by animosity and hoſtile paſſion, like the ſavage in the American woods, he was only anxious of attaining his end, without regarding whether fraud or force were the means. But the true knight or modern hero of the middle ages, who ſeems in all his rencounters to have had his eye on the judicial combat or judgment of God, had an equal contempt for ſtratagem and danger. He diſdained to take advantage of his enemy: he deſired only to ſee him, and to combat him upon equal terms, truſting that heaven would declare in behalf of the juſt; and as he profeſſed only to vindicate the cauſe of religion, of injured beauty, or oppreſſed innocence, he was further confirmed in this enthuſiaſtic opinion by his own imagination. Strongly perſuaded that the deciſion muſt be in his favour, he fought as if under the influence of divine inſpiration rather than of military ardour. Thus the ſyſtem of chivalry, by a ſingular combination of manners, blended the heroic and ſanctified characters, united devotion and valour, zeal and gallantry, and reconciled the love of God and of the ladies.

At the court of every prince, count, or baron, jouſts and tournaments became the favourite amuſements. Inſtead of the gladiators and naked ſpectacles which corrupted the manners of the Greeks and Romans, and baniſhed from the ſtadium the virgins and matrons, the pompous decoration of the liſts was crowned with the preſence of chaſte and high-born beauty, from whoſe hands the conqueror received the prize of his dexterity and courage. The ſkill and ſtrength that were exerted in wreſtling and boxing bear a diſtant and doubtful relation to the merit of a ſoldier; but the tilts and tournaments, as they were invented in France, and practiſed in England, and eagerly adopted both in the eaſt and weſt, preſented a lively image of the buſineſs of the field. The ſingle combats, the general ſkirmiſh, the defence of a paſs or caſtle, were rehearſed as in actual battle; and the conteſt, but in real and

mimic war, was decided by the ſuperior management of the horſe and lance. At theſe entertainments, ſkill in arms, devotion to the fair, and generous courteſy, were all at once cultivated. The aſperity of national prejudice was ſoftened; and the community of religion and arms ſpread a ſimilar colour and generous emulation over the face of Chriſtendom. Abroad, in enterpriſe and pilgrimage; at home, in martial exerciſe, the warriors of every country were perpetually aſſociated; and impartial taſte muſt prefer tilts and tournaments to the Olympic games of claſſic antiquity. At theſe martial entertainments, each knight was attended to the tournament by his faithful ſquire, a youth of equal birth and ſimilar hopes; he was followed by his archers and men at arms; and four, or five, or ſix, ſoldiers, were computed as the furniture of a complete lance. The lance was the proper and peculiar weapon of the knight: his horſe was of a large and heavy breed; but his charger, till he was roufed by approaching danger, was uſually led by an attendant, and he quietly rode a pad or palfrey of a more eaſy pace. His helmet and ſword, his greaves and buckler, it would be ſuperfluous to deſcribe; but I may remark, that at the period of the cruſades the armour was leſs ponderous than in later times; and that, inſtead of a maſſy cuiraſs, his breaſt was defended by an hauberk or coat of mail. When their long lances were fixed in the reſt, the warriors furiouſly ſpurred their horſes againſt the foe; and the light cavalry of the Turks and Arabs could ſeldom ſtand againſt the direct and impetuous weight of their charge. In the expeditions to the neighbouring kingdoms or the Holy Land, the duties of the feudal tenure no longer ſubſiſted; the voluntary ſervice of the knights and their followers was either prompted by zeal or attachment, or purchaſed with rewards and promiſes; and the numbers of each ſquadron were meaſured by the power, the wealth, and the fame, of

each independent chieftain. They were diſtinguiſhed by his banner, his armorial coat, and his cry of war; and the moſt ancient families of Europe muſt ſeek in theſe atchievements the origin and proof of their nobility. From what has been ſaid, we might trace a ſtrong reſemblance between the manners of the age of chivalry and thoſe of the old heroic ages delineated by Homer.

The military enthuſiaſm of the barons is but of a piece with the fanaticiſm of the heroes. Hence the ſame particularity of deſcription in the accounts of battles, wounds, deaths, in the Greek poet as in the Gothic romancers. Hence that minute curioſity in the diſplay of their dreſſes, arms, and accoutrements. The minds of all men, being occupied with warlike images and ideas, were much gratified by thoſe details, which appear cold and unaffecting to modern readers.

We hear much of knights-errant encountering giants and quelling ſavages in books of chivalry. Theſe giants were oppreſſive feudal lords; and every lord was to be met with, like the giant, in his ſtrong hold or caſtle. Their dependents of a lower form, who imitated the violence of their ſuperiors, and had not their caſtles but lurking places, were the ſavages of romance. The greater lord was called a giant for his power; the leſs, a ſavage for his brutality.

Another terror of the Gothic ages were monſters, dragons, and ſerpents. Their ſtories were received in thoſe days for ſeveral reaſons: 1. from the vulgar belief of enchantments; 2. from their being reported on the faith of eaſtern tradition, by adventures from the Holy Land; 3. in ſtill later times, from the ſtrange things told and believed on the diſcovery of the new world.

In all theſe reſpects, Greek antiquity reſembles the Gothic. For what are Homer's Læſtrigons and Cyclops, but bands of lawleſs ſavages, with each of them a giant

a giant of enormous size at their head? And what are the Grecian Bacchus, Hercules, and Theseus, but knights-errant, the exact counterparts of Sir Launcelot and Amadis de Gaul?

With the greatest fierceness and savageness of character, the utmost generosity, hospitality, and courtesy, were imputed to the heroic ages. Achilles was at once the most relentless, vindictive, implacable, and the friendliest, of men. We have the very same representation in the age of chivalry. As in those lawless times dangers and distress of all kinds abounded, there would be the same demand for compassion, gentleness, and general attachments to the unfortunate, (those especially of their own clan,) as of resentment, rage, and animosity, against their enemies.

Again, the martial games celebrated in ancient Greece, on great and solemn occasions, had the same origin and the same purpose as the tournaments of the Gothic warriors; and the passion for adventures, being so natural in their situation, would be as naturally attended with the love of praise and glory. Hence the same encouragement, in the old Greek and Gothic times, to panegyrists and poets, which made it of mighty consequence who should obtain the favour of a rich heiress. And though, in the strict feudal times, she was supposed to be in the power and at the disposal of her superior lord, yet this rigid state of things did not last long. Hence we find some distressed damsel was the spring and mover of every knight's adventure. She was to be rescued by his arms, or won by the fame and admiration of his prowess. The plain meaning of all which was this: that as, in these turbulent times, a protector was necessary to the weakness of the sex, so the courteous and valorous knight was to approve himself fully qualified for that purpose.

It may be observed, that the two poems of Homer were intended to expose the mischiefs and inconveniences arising from the political state of Old Greece: the

the Iliad, the diſſentions that naturally ſpring up among independent chiefs; and the Odyſſey, the inſolence of their greater ſubjects, more eſpecially when unreſtrained by the preſence of their ſovereign. And can any thing more exactly reſemble the condition of the feudal times, when, on occaſion of any great enterpriſe, as that of the cruſades, the deſigns of the confederate Chriſtian ſtates were perpetually fruſtrated, or interrupted at leaſt, by the diſſentions of their leaders; and their affairs at home as perpetually diſtreſſed and diſordered by the rebellious uſurpations of their greater vaſſals? Jeruſalem was to the European knights what Troy had been to the Grecian heroes; for chivalry never flouriſhed ſo much as during the time of the cruſades. From theſe holy wars it followed, that new fraternities of knighthood were invented; hence the knights of the Holy Sepulchre, the Hoſpitallers, Templars, and an infinite number of religious orders. Various other orders were at length inſtituted by ſovereign princes: the Garter by Edward III. of England; the Golden Fleece, by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy; and St. Michael, by Louis XI. of France. From this time ancient chivalry declined to an empty name; when ſovereign princes eſtabliſhed regular companies in their armies, knights bannerets were no more, though it was ſtill thought an honour to be dubbed by a great prince or victorious hero; and all who profeſſed arms without knighthood aſſumed the title of Eſquire.

There is ſcarce a prince in Europe that has not thought fit to inſtitute an order of knighthood; and the title of Knight-ſervice, which the kings of Britain conferred on private ſubjects, is a derivation from ancient chivalry, although very remote from its ſource.

The knights produced by this tenure, however, differed moſt eſſentially from the knights above deſcribed, though the difference ſeems not to have been accurately attended to by authors.

The

The terms knight and chevalier denoted both the knight of honour and knight of tenure; and chivalry was uſed to expreſs both knighthood and knight-ſervice. Hence it has proceeded, that theſe perſons and theſe ſtates have been confounded. Yet the marks of their difference are ſo ſtrong and pointed, that one muſt wonder that writers ſhould miſtake them. It is not, however, mean and common compliers only who have been deceived. Sir Edward Coke, notwithſtanding his diſtinguiſhed head, is of this number. When eſtimating the value of the knight's fee at 20l. per annum, he appeals to the ſtatute De Militibus, 1 Ed. II. and, by the ſenſe of his illuſtration, he conceives, that the knights alluded to there were the ſame with the poſſeſſors of knight's fees: and they, no doubt, had knight's fees; but a knight's fee might be enjoyed not only by the tenants in capite of the crown, but by the tenants of a vaſſal, or by the tenants of a ſub-vaſſal. Now, to theſe the ſtatute makes no alluſion. It did not mean to annex knighthood to every land-holder in the kingdom who had a knight's fee; but to encourage arms, by requiring the tenants in capite of the crown to take to them the dignity. He thus confounds knighthood and knight's fee.---Coke upon Littleton, p. 69.

If I am not deceived, Sir William Blackſtone has fallen into the ſame miſtake, and has added to it. Speaking of the knights of honour, or the equites aurati from the gilt ſpurs they wore, he thus expreſſes himſelf: "They are alſo called, in our law, milites, becauſe they formed a part, or indeed the whole, of the royal army, in virtue of their feodal tenures; one condition of which was, that every one who held a knight's fee (which in Henry the II's time amounted to 20l. per annum) was obliged to be knighted, and attend the king in his wars; or fined for his non-compliance. The exertion of this prerogative, as an expedient to raiſe money, in the reign of Charles I. gave great

great offence, though warranted by law and the recent example of Queen Elizabeth: but it was, at the reſtoration, together with all other military branches of the feodal law, aboliſhed; and this kind of knighthood has ſince that time fallen into great diſrepute."

After what has been ſaid, I need hardly obſerve, that this learned and able writer has confounded the knight of honour and the knight of tenure; and that the requiſition to take knighthood was not made to every poſſeſſor of a knight's fee, but to the tenants of knight's fees held in capite of the crown, who had merely a ſufficiency to maintain the dignity, and were thence diſpoſed not to take it. The idea that the whole force of the royal army conſiſted of knights of honour, or dubbed knights, is ſo extraordinary a circumſtance, that it might have ſhewn of itſelf to this eminent writer the ſource of his error. Had every ſoldier in the feudal army received the inveſtiture of arms? could he wear a ſeal, ſurpaſs in ſilken dreſs, uſe enſigns armorial, and enjoy all the other privileges of knighthood? But, while I hazard theſe remaks, my reader will obſerve, that it is with the greateſt deference I diſſent from Sir William Blackſtone, whoſe abilities are the object of a moſt general and deſerved admiration.

The one claſs of knights was of a high antiquity; the other was not heard of till the invention of a fee. The adorning with arms and the blow of the ſword made the act of the creation of the ancient knight; the new knight was conſtituted by an inveſtment in a piece of land. The former was the member of an order of dignity which had particular privileges and diſtinctions; the latter was the receiver of a feudal grant. Knighthood was an honour; knight-ſervice a tenure. The firſt communicated ſplendor to an army; the laſt gave it ſtrength and numbers. The knight of honour might ſerve in any ſtation whatever; the knight of tenure was in the rank of a ſoldier.---

dier.---It is true, at the ſame time, that every noble and baron were knights of tenure, as they held their lands by knight-ſervice. But the number of fees they poſſeſſed, and their creation into rank, ſeparated them widely from the ſimple individuals to whom they gave out grants of their lands, and who were merely the knights of tenure. It is no leſs true, that the ſovereign, without conferring nobility, might give even a ſingle fee to a tenant; and ſuch vaſſals in capite of the crown, as well as the vaſſals of ſingle fees from a ſubject, were the mere knights of tenure. But the former, in reſpect of their holding from the crown, were to be called to take upon themſelves the knighthood of honour; a condition in which they might riſe from the ranks, and be promoted to offices and command. And as to the vaſſals in capite of the crown who had many fees, their wealth of itſelf ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed them beyond the ſtate of the mere knights of tenure. In fact, they poſſeſſed an authority over men who were of this laſt deſcription; for in proportion to their lands were the fees they gave out and the knights they commanded.

By the tenure of knight-ſervice the greateſt part of the lands in England were holden, and that principally of the king in capite, till the middle of the laſt century; and which was created, as Sir Edward Coke expreſsly teſtifies, for a military purpoſe, viz. for defence of the realm by the king's own principal ſubjects, which was judged to be much better than to truſt to hirelings or foreigners. The deſcription here given is that of knight-ſervice proper, which was to attend the king in his wars. There were alſo ſome other ſpecies of knight-ſervice; ſo called, though improperly, becauſe the ſervice or render was of a free and honourable nature, and equally uncertain as to the time of rendering as that of knight-ſervice proper, and becauſe they were attended with ſimilar fruits and conſequences. Such was the tenure by grand ſerjeanty,

per magnum ſervitium, whereby the tenant was bound, inſtead of ſerving the king generally in his wars, to do ſome ſpecial honorary ſervice to the king in perſon; as to carry his banner, his ſword, or the like; or be his butler, champion, or other officer, at his coronation. It was, in moſt other reſpects, like knight-ſervice, only he was not bound to pay aid or eſcuage; and, when tenant by knight-ſervice paid five pounds for a relief on every knight's fee, tenant by grand-ſerjeanty paid one year's value of his land, were it much or little. Tenure by cornage, which was to wind a horn when the Scots or other enemies entered the land, in order to warn the king's ſubjects, was (like other ſervices of the ſame nature) a ſpecies of grand-ſerjeanty.

Theſe ſervices, both of chivalry and grand-ſerjeanty, were all perſonal, and uncertain as to their quantity or duration. But the perſonal attendance in knight-ſervice growing troubleſome and inconvenient in many reſpects, the tenants found means of compounding for it, firſt by ſending others in their ſtead, and in proceſs of time making a pecuniary ſatisfaction to the lords in lieu of it. This pecuniary ſatisfaction at laſt came to be levied by aſſeſſments, at ſo much for every knight's fee; and therefore this kind of tenure was called ſcutagium in Latin, or ſervitium ſcuti; ſcutum being then a well-known denomination of money: and in like manner it is called, in our Norman French, eſcuage; being indeed a pecuniary inſtead of a military ſervice. The firſt time this appears to have been taken was in the 5 Hen. II. on account of his expedition to Toulouſe; but it ſoon came to be ſo univerſal, that perſonal attendance fell quite into diſuſe. Hence we find in our ancient hiſtories, that, from this period when our kings went to war, they levied ſcutages on their tenants, that is on all the landholders of the kingdom, to defray their expences and to hire troops: and theſe aſſeſſments in the time of Henry II.

ſeem

ſeem to have been made quite arbitrarily, and at the king's pleaſure. Which prerogative being greatly abuſed by his ſucceſſors, it became matter of national clamour; and King John was obliged to conſent, by his magna charta, that no ſcutage ſhould be impoſed without conſent of parliament. But this clauſe was omitted in his ſon Henry III.'s charter; where we only find, that ſcutages or eſcuage ſhould be taken as they were uſed to be taken in the time of Henry II. that is, in a reaſonable and moderate manner. Yet afterwards, by ſtatute 25 Edw. I. c. 5 & 6. and many ſubſequent ſtatutes, it was enacted, that the king ſhould take no aids or taſks but by the common aſſent of the realm. Hence it is held in our old books, that eſcuage or ſcutage could not be levied but by conſent of parliament; ſuch ſcutages being indeed the groundwork of all ſucceeding ſubſidies, and the land-tax of later times.

Since, therefore, eſcuage differed from knight-ſervice in nothing but as a compenſation differs from actual ſervice, knight-ſervice is ſo frequently confounded with it. And thus Littleton muſt be underſtood, when he tells us, that tenant by homage, fealty, and eſcuage, was tenant by knight-ſervice: that is, that this tenure (being ſubſervient to the military policy of the nation) was reſpected as a tenure in chivalry. But as the actual ſervice was uncertain, and depended upon emergencies, ſo it was neceſſary that this pecuniary compenſation ſhould be equally uncertain, and depend on the aſſeſſments of the legiſlature ſuited to thoſe emergencies. For had the eſcuage been a ſettled invariable ſum, payable at certain times, it had been neither more nor leſs than a mere pecuniary rent; and the tenure, inſtead of knight-ſervice, would have then been of another kind, called Soccage.

By the degenerating of knight-ſervice, or perſonal military duty, into eſcuage or pecuniary aſſeſſments,

all the advantages (either promiſed or real) of the feodal conſtitutions were deſtroyed, and nothing but the hardſhips remained. Inſtead of forming a national militia compoſed of barons, knights, and gentlemen, bound by their intereſt, their honour, and their oaths, to defend their king and country, the whole of this ſyſtem of tenures now tended to nothing elſe but a wretched means of raiſing money to pay an army of occaſional mercenaries. In the mean time the families of all our nobility and gentry groaned under the intolerable burdens which, in conſequence of the fiction adopted after the conqueſt, were introduced and laid upon them by the ſubtlety and fineſſe of the Norman lawyers. For, beſides the ſcutages to which they were liable in defect of perſonal attendance, which however, were aſſeſſed by themſelves in parliament, they might be called upon by the king or lord paramount for aids, whenever his eldeſt ſon was to be knighted or his eldeſt daughter married; not to forget the ranſom of his own perſon. The heir, on the death of his anceſtor, if of full age, was plundered of the firſt emoluments ariſing from his inheritance, by way of relief and primer ſeiſin; and, if under age, of the whole of his eſtate during infancy. And then, as Sir Thomas Smith very feelingly complains, "when he came to his own, after he was out of wardſhip, his woods decayed, houſes fallen down, ſtock waſted and gone, lands let forth and ploughed to be barren," to make amends, he was yet to pay half a year's profits as a fine for ſuing out his livery; and alſo the price or value of his marriage, if he refuſed ſuch wife as his lord and guardian had bartered for and impoſed upon him; or twice that value, if he married another woman. Add to this, the untimely and expenſive honour of knighthood, to make his poverty more completely ſplendid. And when, by theſe deductions, his fortune was ſo ſhattered and ruined, that perhaps he

he was obliged to ſell his patrimony, he had not even that poor privilege allowed him without paying an exorbitant fine for a licence of alienation.

A ſlavery ſo complicated and ſo extenſive as this called aloud for a remedy in a nation that boaſted of her freedom. Palliatives were from time to time applied by ſucceſſive acts of parliament, which aſſuaged ſome temporary grievances. Till at length the humanity of King James I. conſented for a proper equivalent to aboliſh them all, though the plan then proceeded not to effect; in like manner as he had formed a ſcheme, and began to put it into execution, for removing the feodal grievance of heritable juriſdictions in Scotland, which has ſince been purſued and effected by the ſtatute 20 Geo. II. c. 43. King James's plan for exchanging our military tenures ſeems to have been nearly the ſame as that which has been ſince purſued; only with this difference, that, by way of compenſation for the loſs which the crown and other lords would ſuſtain, an annual fee-farm rent ſhould be ſettled and inſeparably annexed to the crown, and aſſured to the inferior lords, payable out of every knight's fee within their reſpective ſeignories. An expedient, ſeemingly much better than the hereditary exciſe which was afterwards made the principal equivalent for theſe conceſſions. For at length the military tenures, with all their heavy appendages, were deſtroyed at one blow by the ſtatute 12 Car. II. c. 24, which enacts, "that the court of ward or liveries, and all wardſhips, liveries, primer ſeiſins, and ouſterlemains, values and forfeitures of marriages, by reaſon of any tenure of the king or others, be totally taken away. And that all fines for alienations, tenures by homage, knights-ſervice, and eſcuage, and alſo aids for marrying the daughter or knighting the ſon, and all tenures of the king in capite, be likewiſe taken away. And that all ſorts of tenures, held of the king or others, be turned into free and common ſoccage; ſave only tenures in

frankalmoign, copyholds, and the honorary ſervices (without the ſlaviſh part) of grand-ſerjeanty." A ſtatute which was a greater acquiſition to the civil property of this kingdom than even magna charta itſelf: ſince that only pruned the luxuriances that had grown out of the military tenures, and thereby preſerved them in vigour: but the ſtatute of King Charles extirpated the whole, and demoliſhed both root and branches.

Of the British Wars from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar till the Romans abandoned the Island.

THE time when the iſland of Britain was firſt peopled is uncertain; nor do we know whether the ſouthern or northern parts were firſt inhabited. We have no accounts that can be depended upon before the arrival of Julius Cæſar, and it is certain he found the ſouthern parts full of people of a very warlike diſpoſition. Theſe people according to Cæſar, were a colony of the Gauls; and this opinion is embraced by moſt of the ancient as well as modern writers. It is chiefly founded on the agreement obſerved by the Romans between the two nations in their cuſtoms, manners, language, religion, government, way of fighting, &c. The more northern inhabitants, according to Tacitus, came from Germany. This he infers from the make of their limbs; but Cæſar ſimply calls them Aborigenes.

England, including the principality of Wales, when firſt invaded by the Romans, was divided into 17 petty ſtates. 1. The Danmonii, called alſo Dunmonii and Donmonii, inhabiting the counties of Cornwall and Devonſhire. 2. The Durotriges, who inhabited the track now called Dorſetſhire. 3. The Belgæ poſſeſſed Somerſetſhire, Wiltſhire, and Hampſhire. 4. The Attrebatii, or inhabitants of Berkſhire. 5. The Regni, whoſe

whoſe country bordered on that of the Attrebatii, and comprehended Surrey, Suſſex, and part of the ſea-coaſt of Hampſhire. 6. The Cantii, inhabiting the county now called Kent. 7. The Dobuni are placed by Ptolomy on the north ſide of the Thames, near its head, in the counties of Glouceſterſhire and Oxfordſhire. 8. The Cattieuchlani, Calyeuchlani, Cattidudani, or Cathicludani, inhabited Buckinghamſhire, Bedfordſhire, and Hertfordſhire. 9. The Trinobantes, who poſſeſſed the counties of Eſſex and Middleſex. 10. The Iceni, whoſe country comprehended Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdonſhire. Theſe are by Ptolemy called Simeni, and by others Tigeni. Camden is of opinion, that they were the ſame whom Cæſar calls Cenomagni. 11. The Coritani, whoſe country comprehended Northamptonſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Rutlandſhire, Lincolnſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and Derbyſhire. 12. The Cornavii poſſeſſed Warwickſhire, Worceſterſhire, Staffordſhire, Shropſhire, and Cheſhire. 13. The Silures inhabited the counties of Radnorſhire, Brecknockſhire, Glamorganſhire, with Herefordſhire and Monmouthſhire. 14. The Demetæ inhabited part of Carmarthenſhire, Pembrokeſhire, and Cardiganſhire. 15. The country of the Ordovices comprehended Montgomeryſhire, Merionethſhire, Caernarvonſhire, Denbighſhire, and Flintſhire. 16. The Brigantes poſſeſſed the countries of Yorkſhire, the biſhopric of Durham, Lancaſhire, Weſtmoreland, and Cumberland. 17. The county of Northumberland was held by the Ottadini, Ottadeni, or Ottalini. Their country, according to ſome, reached from the Tine to the river Forth; though the moſt common opinion is, that it reached only to the Tweed.

The above-mentioned names of theſe nations are plainly Roman, but the etymology of them is not eaſily aſcertained. Some attempt to derive them from words in the old Britiſh language; but as this ſubject

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at beſt muſt be very obſcure and uncertain, and has been largely treated of in the Hiſtories of England, we ſhall not enter into it.

Before the time of Julius Cæſar, the Romans had ſcarcely any knowledge of Britain; but that conqueror, having ſubdued moſt of the Gallic nations on the oppoſite ſide of the channel, began to think of extending his conqueſts by the reduction of Britain. The motive for this expedition, aſcribed to him by Suetonius, was a deſire of enriching himſelf by the Britiſh pearls, which were then very much eſteemed. The pretence, however, which he made uſe of in order to juſtify his invaſion was, that the Britons had ſent aſſiſtance to the Gauls during his wars with them.

Cæſar undertook his firſt expediton againſt Britain when the ſummer was already far ſpent, and therefore he did not expect to finiſh the conqueſt of the country that campaign. He thought, however, that it would be a conſiderable advantage to view the iſland, and learn ſomething of the manners and cuſtoms of the natives; after which he could more eaſily take ſuch meaſures as would enſure a permanent conqueſt on his return. Having marched all his forces into the country of the Morini, now the province of Picardy, from whence was the ſhorteſt paſſage into Britain; he ordered at the ſame time all the veſſels that lay in the neighbouring ports, and a fleet which he had built the year before for an expedition againſt the Morini, to attend him. The Britons, alarmed at his preparations, ſent ambaſſadors with offers of ſubmiſſion; but Cæſar, though he received them with great kindneſs, did not abandon his intended ſcheme of an invaſion. He waited till the arrival of C. Voluſenus, whom he had ſent out with a ſingle galley to make diſcoveries on the coaſt. Voluſenus did not think proper to land; but, having made what obſervations he could, returned, after five days abſence, and Cæſar immediately ſet ſail for Britain. His force conſiſted of two legions embarked

barked on-board eighty tranſports; and he appointed eighteen more, which lay wind-bound about eight miles off, to convey over the cavalry; but theſe laſt orders were too ſlowly executed, which occaſioned ſome difficulty in his landing.

The Britons at this time, according to Cæſar and other Roman hiſtorians, were very numerous, and had their country well ſtocked with cattle. Their houſes reſembled thoſe of the Gauls; and they uſed copper or iron plates weighed by a certain ſtandard inſtead of money. Their towns were a confuſed parcel of huts placed at a ſmall diſtance from one another, generally in the middle of a wood, to which all the avenues were ſlightly guarded with ramparts of earth or with trees. All the nations were in a ſtate of barbariſm, much reſembling the Gauls and Germanic tribes on the continent. The uſe of clothes was but little regarded in the iſland. The common inhabitants covered themſelves with the ſkins of wild beaſts; and this rather to avoid giving offence to the ſtrangers who came to trade with them than to defend their bodies from the rigour of the ſeaſons. It was a general cuſtom among the Britons to paint their bodies with the juice of woad; which was ſometimes deſigned for ornament, and ſometimes to terrify their enemies. They ſhaved their beards, all except their upper lip, and wore long hair.

The arms of the Britons, both of the man and woman, who frequently fought by her huſband's ſide, were a ſword, a lance, and a ſhield. Breaſt-plates and helmets they looked upon rather to be incumbrances, and therefore made but little uſe of them. They uſually fought in chariots, ſome of which were armed with ſcythes at the wheels; they were fierce and cruel, and exceedingly blood-thirſty. When driven to diſtreſs, they could ſubſiſt themſelves even on the bark and roots of trees; and Dio Caſſius tells us, that they had ready, on all occaſions, a certain kind of

food, of which if they took but the quantity of a bean, they were not troubled with hunger or thirſt for a conſiderable time after. The ſouthern and middle nations were ſomewhat more civilized; and the Cantii, or inhabitants of Kent, more ſo than any of the reſt; they appeared to poſſeſs loftier ſentiments, and to have had more experience of men and manners.

The general characteriſtic of the Britons, in this barbarous and uncultivated age, ſeems to have been, that, though fierce in the field and terrible to an enemy, they were nevertheleſs gentle in their domeſtic capacity, and took pride in acts of magnanimity and friendſhip. Among their own tribes, hoſpitality was indulged with the moſt unbounded freedom. The entertainer, when his humble fare was exhauſted, carried his gueſt to the houſe of his next neighbour. Invitations were not waited for; nor was it of conſequence to be invited. A reception equally warm and hearty was at all times certain. On theſe occaſions, giving way to the movements of the heart, they delighted in preſents; but they neither thought themſelves entitled to a return for what they gave, nor laid under an obligation for what they received. They yielded to the impulſe of paſſion, and the pleaſure they felt was their recompenſe. Their gifts were directed by no view of an immediate or diſtant advantage; their generoſity was no traffic of intereſt, and proceeded from no motive of deſign. When ſupplied to their deſire with intoxicating liquors, they were no leſs invincible in vice than in valour; yet, in the diſgraceful moments of debauch, they applied to public affairs, and debated concerning peace and war. Every perſon who was free conſidered himſelf in the light of a legiſlator. They marched, on all weighty occaſions, to the aſſembly of their prince or leader, where a freedom of ſpeech, entire and unlimited, was allowed them. The age, the eloquence, the rank, and the honours acquired in war, were the qualities which procured attention

attention to the ſpeaker; and the people were influenced by perſuaſion, not by authority. A murmur, coarſe and rude, expreſſed their diſſent; whilſt the rattling of their armour was the flattering mark of their applauſe.

In their religion they were groſs, like almoſt all nations in that dark and diſtant age. They believed in a plurality of ſubordinate gods; but confided in one Supreme Being, as the author and ruler of the whole. Their groves and druidical temples were appropriated to the uſes of devotion; and, in the awful reſpect inſpired by ſilence in the deep receſſes of their woods, they felt and acknowledged the power of their deities. They conſidered the oak as the emblem, or rather the peculiar reſidence, of the Almighty; and accordingly chaplets of it were worn by the prieſts and people in their religious ceremonies; the altars were ſtrewed with its leaves, and encircled with its branches. The fruit of it, eſpecially the miſletoe, was thought to contain a divine virtue, and to be the peculiar gift of heaven. It was therefore ſought for on the ſixth day of the moon with the greateſt earneſtneſs and anxiety, and when found was hailed with ſuch raptures of joy as almoſt exceeds imagination to conceive. It was conſecrated by the prieſts, and adminiſtered as a ſovereign ſpecific in almoſt every diſeaſe to which the Britons were ſubject. They were much addicted to augury and divination; and they were fond of drawing prognoſtics from the running of waters, the flight of birds, and the neighing of horſes. Their prieſts had greater authority than their kings or chieftains, and they were governed in all their great undertakings, whether for war or peace, for flight or battle, by the impulſes and dictates of their divinities, as revealed or explained by their miniſters.

The office of magiſtrate was uſually filled by the prince or leader of a tribe, who, with the body of his officers and followers, conſtituted a court, which heard

accuſations and determined concerning crimes. Traitors and deſerters were hung on trees. Cowardice, and the crime againſt nature, were conſidered as of equal atrocity; and the perſons convicted of them were choaked in mires and ſwamps by the preſſure of hurdles. A corporal puniſhment and compenſations in corn and cattle were the atonements of ſmaller delinquencies.

The remoter and more ſequeſtered tribes, who dwelt principally in caves and foreſts, were not however ſo civilized, nor ſo religiouſly inclined. To the moſt ſavage fierceneſs, they united an unconquerable ſpirit. They clothed themſelves in the ſkins of beaſts, fed chiefly on herbage, and ſlept on the earth. Their chief dependence was on their arrows, and their women accompanied them to the chace, and partook of the prey. A covering, inwrought with boughs, was all the ſhelter which defended their infants from the rigour of ſeaſons, or the ferocity of animals. This they preferred to the fatigue of cultivating the earth, or building huts; to the agitations of hope and fear attendant on a care of their own fortunes, and on a connection with thoſe of others. Unapprehenſive of any danger from men, and awed by no terror of the gods, they had reached a ſtate which is nearly unattainable to the utmoſt human endeavours---the being entirely without a wiſh.

Amongſt all the nations and tribes of Britain, courage, intrepidity, and ſuperior abilities, were the qualifications which entitled to the office and juriſdiction of a chief; and the general of an army was to command leſs by authority than from example. He drew reſpect and obſervation by his activity, his addreſs, and the ſplendour of his exploits. Even the hopes and ambition of the ſimple ſoldier were made to depend on his perſonal honour and courage. Yet, with all this attention to merit, and with all their rigidneſs of character, they were prone to deceive and to circumvent.

vent. They accounted it meritorious to ſteal upon their enemies in the darkeſt nights; they blackened their ſhields, and painted their bodies, to appear more terrible; and, to give ground, or run away, and unexpectedly to face about and return to the charge, was a common and an admired feat of their prudence. Cunning and ſtratagem appeared to them to be wiſdom; and, though remarkable for courage, both active and paſſive, they expoſed it to ſuſpicion by the arts which, in the age of chivalry, were characteriſtic of the puſillanimous.

It is alſo remarkable, that, though attentive to juſtice, with a punctilious exactneſs, within the bounds of their particular nations, they deſpiſed it with regard to other ſtates and communities; and hence that continual ſource of diſſenſion and animoſity, which kept them at perpetual war with each other. At home, to commit violence and depredation was a crime of the deepeſt dye; but when directed againſt a rival nation, though at peace, was a mark of valour, and an expreſſion of virtue. To make incurſions upon a neighbouring tribe, to carry off their cattle, and lay waſte their territory, were actions of renown and greatneſs. They rouſed the ambition of the valorous, and were enterpriſes in which they acquired reputation, and qualified themſelves for ſcenes of greater danger and glory.

The Britiſh nations were therefore very brave and reſolute, owing to theſe continual diſſenſions among themſelves. They conſequently proved very formidable enemies to the Romans; but the ſame diſſenſions which had taught them the art of war alſo prevented them from uniting in the defence of their country. As ſoon as they perceived Cæſar's fleet approaching, a number of cavalry and chariots were diſpatched to oppoſe his landing, while a conſiderable body of infantry haſtened after. What chiefly embarraſſed the Romans in their attempt to land was the largeneſs of their ſhips,

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which required a conſiderable depth of water; ſo that the Roman ſoldiers were obliged, loaded as they were with heavy armour, to leap into the ſea, and at the ſame time to ſtruggle with the waves, and encounter the Britons, who, having their hands diſengaged, as they either ſtood on dry land or waded but a little way into the water, could boldly caſt their darts, and drive back an enemy thus incumbered. This diſadvantage ſo diſcouraged the Romans, as Cæſar himſelf owns, that they did not appear ſo chearful, nor ſo eager to engage, as in their former conflicts on dry land; which being perceived by the general, he ordered his long ſhips, or gallies, to advance with their broadſides towards the ſhore, in order to force the Britons, with their ſlings, arrows, and engines, to retire from the water-ſide. This had, in ſome degree, the deſired effect; for the Britons, ſurpriſed at the make of the gallies, a ſort of ſhipping they had never ſeen, and overwhelmed with ſhowers of darts and arrows thence diſcharged upon them, began to give ground. But, the Romans ſtill betraying great backwardneſs to throw themſelves into the water, the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion, having firſt invoked the gods, cried out aloud, "Fellow-ſoldiers, unleſs you will forſake your colours and ſuffer the Roman eagle to fall into the hands of the enemy, follow me; for I am reſolved to diſcharge my duty to the commonwealth and my general." Having thus ſpoken, he leaped into the ſea, and advanced with the eagle towards the enemy. Hereupon the ſoldiers of the ſame ſhip, encouraging each other not to ſuffer ſo great a diſgrace as the loſs of their enſign, followed his example; which thoſe in the other ſhips perceiving, they too caſt themſelves boldly into the ſea, and, preſſing forward, began the fight, which proved very ſharp on both ſides, and for ſome time no way favourable to the Romans; for, not being able either to keep their ranks, get firm footing, or, leaping out of ſeveral

ſhips, follow their particular ſtandards, they were put into great confuſion by the Britons, who, being acquainted with the ſhallows, when they ſaw them coming in ſmall numbers out of their ſhips, ſpurred their horſes into the water, and attacked them thus incumbered and unprepared; which Cæſar obſerving, he cauſed ſeveral boats to be manned, and ſent them to the aſſiſtance of thoſe whom he ſaw moſt diſtreſſed. By this means, the Romans, having at length gained firm footing, charged the Britons ſo briſkly, that they put them to flight, but could not purſue them for want of horſe, the cavalry being not yet arrived.

Upon this defeat, the Britons immediately ſent ambaſſadors, and with them Comius, whom they had committed to priſon, to ſue for peace. This treatment they endeavoured to excuſe, by laying the blame on the multitude. Cæſar, having upbraided them with their breach of faith, in making war upon him after they had ſent ambaſſadors to him, promiſed to forgive them, on condition they delivered a certain number of hoſtages. Part of theſe they brought immediately, promiſing to return in a few days with the reſt, who lived at ſome diſtance. Peace being thus concluded four days after their landing in Britain, the Britiſh princes, having diſbanded their men, and ſent them back into their ſeveral countries, came to ſubmit themſelves to Cæſar. In the mean time, the eighteen tranſports that were conveying over the Roman cavalry, being overtaken by a violent ſtorm, were driven back to the ports of Gaul. By the ſame ſtorm, Cæſar's fleet, which lay in the road, was greatly damaged, ſeveral of them were daſhed to pieces, and others, by the loſs of their anchors, cables, and rigging, rendered wholly uſeleſs; which cauſed a great conſternation in the army; for they wanted materials to refit them, in order to return to the continent, and proviſions to ſupport them any conſiderable time in the iſland, Cæſar having all along intended to paſs the winter

winter in Gaul. What added to the misfortune, the ſame night, it being then full moon, the tide roſe ſo high, that the gallies which had been drawn aſhore were filled with water. This cauſed a new panic, the Roman mariners being quite unacquainted with the tides on the iſland.

The Britiſh chiefs, who were aſſembled to perform their agreement with Cæſar, perceiving his want of cavalry, ſhips, and proviſions, and judging of the number of his men by the ſmallneſs of his camp, which was narrower than uſual, becauſe the legions had left the heavy baggage behind them, reſolved to take arms again, in order to protract the war till winter, perſuading themſelves, that if they could cut off the few Romans that were come over, or prevent their return, they would thereby deter others from invading Britain for the future. The plot being thus laid, they began to ſteal out of the camp by degrees, privately to collect their diſbanded troops. Cæſar knew nothing of their deſign; but nevertheleſs, ſuſpecting an alteration from their delay in delivering their hoſtages after the loſs of his ſhipping, reſolved to prepare againſt all events.

Accordingly he cauſed all the proviſions that could be found in the neighbouring country to be brought into his camp; and gave orders, that thoſe ſhips which had been the leaſt damaged by the ſtorm ſhould be refitted with the materials of thoſe that had been ſhattered to pieces. He ſent likewiſe to Gaul for what things were further neceſſary; which were ſo well applied by the ſoldiers, who, on this occaſion, laboured with uncommon diligence, that, only twelve ſhips being loſt, the reſt were ſoon in a condition to put to ſea again.

In the mean time, the ſeventh legion being ſent out to forage, while part of the ſoldiers were employed in reaping the corn, and the reſt in gathering it and conveying it to the camp, the Britons, who had lain

lain all night concealed in the woods, fell upon them unexpectedly; and, having killed great numbers, drove the reſt into a ſmall compaſs, and ſurrounded them with their horſe and chariots in ſuch a manner, that not a ſingle man would have eſcaped, had not the advanced guards, obſerving a greater duſt than uſual riſing from that quarter, acquainted Cæſar therewith; who, ſuſpecting the Britons had begun hoſtilities anew, haſtened to the aſſiſtance of the legion with the two cohorts that were upon guard, ordering two others to ſupply their room, and the reſt to repair to their arms and follow him with all expedition. Upon his arrival the Britons gave over the attack, and the Romans reſumed their courage. However, Cæſar, not thinking it adviſeable to engage the enemy, ſtood ſome time with his troops drawn up in battle array, and then retreated to his camp. After this the heavy rains which continued ſeveral days ſucceſſively kept the Romans in their camp, and prevented the Britons from attempting any thing againſt them.

The latter, however, were not idle in the mean time; but having diſpatched meſſengers into all parts of the iſland, to inform their countrymen how ſmall an army the Romans had left, how great a booty they might get, and what a favourable opportunity offered of freeing themſelves for ever from the Roman yoke, they drew together a great body of horſe and foot, and boldly advanced to the Roman intrenchments. Upon their approach, Cæſar drew up his legions in order of battle before the camp, and gave the Britons ſo warm a reception, that they preſently turned their backs, and fled. Cæſar purſued them with great ſlaughter, burnt ſeveral towns and villages in the neighbourhood, and then returned to his camp. The Britons, diſheartened at the loſs they had ſuſtained, ſent the ſame day ambaſſadors to ſolicit for peace; which Cæſar willingly granted, upon their promiſing to ſend him double the number of hoſtages he had re-

quired before. His want of cavalry, and the fear of expoſing his fleet to another ſtorm if he ſtaid till the equinox, made him haſten his departure. The ſame night therefore the wind proving favourable, he weighed anchor, and ſoon after arrived in Gaul, whence he immediately wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with his exploits in Britain: for which a ſupplication, or general thankſgiving, was decreed for twenty days.

The Britons, it ſeems, were not much awed by Cæſar's arms; for, of all the ſtates into which the iſland was then divided, two only ſent him hoſtages. Provoked at this inſupportable contempt, he reſolved to make a new deſcent the following ſpring, with a more powerful fleet and army. With this view, before he left Gaul to return to Italy, where he uſually ſpent part of the winter, he ordered his lieutenants to refit the old ſhips, and build as many new ones as poſſible. His orders were executed with ſuch diligence, that upon his return he found ſix hundred ſhips, and twenty-eight galleys, ready to put to ſea in a few days. Having therefore commended the application and diligence of his ſoldiers and ſuperviſors, he commanded them to repair with their fleet to Pontus Itius, while he marched with four legions and eight hundred horſe into Treves, to prevent a rebellion there; which he had no ſooner done, than he haſtened to the above-mentioned port; and leaving Labienus there, with three legions and two thouſand horſe to ſecure it, to provide corn, and to ſend him intelligence from time to time of what might happen on the continent, he embarked with five legions and two thouſand horſe, and, weighing anchor about ſunſet, arrived with his whole fleet the next day by noon on the Britiſh coaſt, where he landed, without oppoſition, in the ſame place which he had found ſo propitious the year before. The Britons had aſſembled in vaſt multitudes to oppoſe his landing, as he

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afterwards underſtood from the priſoners; but being terrified by the ſight of ſo numerous a fleet, amounting, with the veſſels which ſeveral perſons had provided for their own uſe, to eight hundred and upwards, they had left the ſhore and retired to the hills. Cæſar being informed, after landing his troops, where the Britons were lodged, left ten cohorts and three hundred horſe to ſecure the fleet, and with the reſt marched in queſt of the enemy, whom he found poſted on the other ſide of a river ſuppoſed to be the Stour, about twelve miles from the place where he had landed. Their deſign was to oppoſe his paſſage; but, notwithſtanding their advantage of the ground, they were obliged by the Roman cavalry to quit their poſt and retire to a wood, whereof all the avenues were blocked up with large trees cut down for that purpoſe. Out of this place, which ſeemed to have been fortified in ſome former war, they never ventured but in ſmall parties; yet, notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts to prevent the Romans from entering it, the ſoldiers of the ſeventh legion having caſt themſelves into a teſtudo, and thrown up a mount againſt their works, obliged them to abandon their aſylum, and ſave themſelves by flight. But, the day being far ſpent, Cæſar, who was quite unacquainted with the country, thought it more adviſeable to return and fortify his camp than to purſue the fugitives.

Early the next morning Cæſar diſpatched both his horſe and foot, divided into three bodies, in purſuit of the enemy; but, when he was already come in ſight of the rear, he was acquainted by ſome horſemen from Q. Atrius, that by a dreadful ſtorm which had happened the night before moſt of his ſhips were daſhed to pieces or driven aſhore. Upon this intelligence he haſtened back to the ſea-ſide, where he was an eye-witneſs of the misfortune which he had heard from the meſſengers. Forty ſhips were entirely loſt, and the reſt ſo damaged that they could not be

refitted without great trouble and labour. However, having without loſs of time ſet all the carpenters in the fleet and army to work, and ſent over to Gaul for others, ordering at the ſame time Labienus to build as many ſhips as he could with the legions that were there, to prevent the like misfortune for the future, he reſolved upon a very difficult undertaking; which was to draw all his ſhips on ſhore, and incloſe them within the fortifications of his camp. This ſtupendous work being completed in ten days, the ſoldiers labouring the whole time night and day without intermiſſion, and the camp being ſtrongly fortified, Cæſar, leaving the ſame guard as before to defend it, marched with the reſt of his forces to the place whence he had returned from purſuing the enemy.

Upon his arrival he found the Britons greatly increaſed under the command of Caſſibelan king of the Trinobantes, whoſe territories lay about eighty miles from the ſea. He had formerly made war upon his neighbours; but on the arrival of the Romans they had unanimouſly committed the whole management of the war to him, as the moſt proper perſon to lead them at ſo important a conjuncture. While the Romans were on their march, they were attacked by the Britiſh horſe and chariots, whom they repulſed with great ſlaughter, and drove into the woods; but, purſuing them too eagerly, they loſt many of their own men. Not long after, the Britons made a ſudden ſally out of the woods, and fell upon the advanced guard, while the Romans were buſied in fortifying their camp. Cæſar immediately detached two cohorts to their aſſiſtance; but the Britons, while the Romans ſtood amazed at their new way of fighting, boldly broke through the two cohorts, and returned again without the loſs of a man. Quintus Laberius Durus, a tribune, was ſlain in this action: but, ſome freſh cohorts coming to the relief of the Romans, the Britons were in the end obliged to retreat. The next day

they kept on the hills, at a conſiderable diſtance from the Roman camp, till about noon; when three legions being detached by Cæſar, with all the cavalry under the command of C. Trebonius, to forage, they fell upon the foragers with great fury; but, meeting with a vigorous reſiſtance, they betook themſelves to flight, and were purſued by the Roman cavalry ſo cloſe, that they had not time to rally, to make a ſtand, or to get down from their chariots, according to their cuſtom; ſo that great numbers were cut to pieces. Upon this overthrow, the auxiliary troops that had come from all parts, abandoning Caſſibelan, returned to their reſpective countries; nor did the Britons ever after engage Cæſar with their united force.

After this victory Cæſar marched towards the Thames, with a deſign to croſs that river and invade the territories of Caſſibelan; but, when he came to the only place where the river could, though not without great difficulty, be forded, he ſaw the enemy's forces drawn up in a conſiderable body on the oppoſite bank, which was fortified with ſharp ſtakes. They had likewiſe driven many ſtakes of the ſame kind into the bottom of the river, but their tops were concealed by the water. Cæſar had intelligence of this from the priſoners and deſerters, yet he ordered the cavalry to ride in, and the legions to follow; which they did with ſuch reſolution and intrepidity, that, though the foot were up to the chin in water, the enemy, not being able to ſuſtain their aſſault, abandoned the bank and fled. Polyænus tells us that Cæſar, on this occaſion, made uſe of the following ſtratagem: he cauſed an elephant, covered with iron, having a wooden tower on his back full of men, to be driven into the river; which unuſual ſight ſtruck terror into the Britons, and they abandoned the oppoſite ſhore. The ſtakes are juſt above Walton in Surrey; and the meadow facing them is called Coway. They are even now to be ſeen at low water; and one of

of them was lately pulled out of the Thames, but with great difficulty. They are of oak, and, though they have been ſo long in the water, are as hard as brazil, and as black as jet. At Shepperton they have ſeveral knife-handles made of them.

Caſſibelan, now deſpairing of ſucceſs by a battle, diſbanded the greateſt part of his forces, retaining only about four thouſand chariots to obſerve the motions of the Romans. With theſe he kept at ſome diſtance in the woods, or in ſuch places as were ſcarce acceſſible to his enemies, carrying off the corn and cattle from thoſe countries through which the Romans were to march. As he was well acquainted with the roads and bye-ways, if the Roman cavalry ventured a little too far to lay the country waſte, he detached part of his chariots to attack them; which they could not engage without great diſadvantage. This prevented the Romans from making excurſions, as they would otherwiſe have done, and obliged Cæſar not to ſuffer his horſe to go farther to burn and plunder the country than where the legions were able to follow and ſupport them.

In the mean time the Trinobantes ſent ambaſſadors to Cæſar, promiſing to ſubmit to his authority, at the ſame time intreating him to protect Mandubratius againſt the oppreſſion of Caſſibelan, and ſend him to them for their king and governor. Mandubratius, by Eutropius and Bede called Androgeus, was the ſon of Immanuentius king of the Trinobantes; but, upon the death of his father, who was ſlain by Caſſibelan, to avoid the like fate he fled to Cæſar, who had granted him his protection. Cæſar readily complied with the requeſt of the Trinobantes, enjoining them to ſend him forty hoſtages, and corn for his army; which they did accordingly. The example of the Trinobantes, whoſe ſubmiſſion ſecured them from being plundered by the Roman ſoldiers, was ſoon followed by other ſtates; viz. the Cenomagni, Segontiaci,

aci, Anaclites, Bibroci, and Coſſi, who, by their deputies, ſubmitted to Cæſar. From theſe he had intelligence that the town of Caſſibelan, ſuppoſed to be Verulamium, now St. Alban's, well fortified with woods and marſhes, whither the country-people had retired with their cattle, was but a little way from his camp. Thither therefore he marched with his legions; and, though he found the place ſtrongly fortified both by nature and art, he ordered it to be ſtormed at two different places; which was done with ſuch reſolution, that the Britons, not able to ſuſtain the violence of the aſſault, fled out at one of the avenues of the wood; (for this town was in a thick wood, ſurrounded with a ditch, and fortified with a rampart.) Many of the Britons were overtaken as they attempted to eſcape, and were cut in pieces. Here Cæſar found great ſtore of corn and cattle.

To repair in ſome meaſure this great loſs, and divert Cæſar from purſuing his conqueſt, Caſſibelan, by his meſſengers, perſuaded four petty princes of Kent, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Teximagulus, and Segonax, whom Cæſar ſtiles kings, to raiſe what forces they could, and attack the camp where the ſhips were laid up; but the Romans, having made a ſally, repulſed them with great ſlaughter, took Cingetorix priſoner, and returned with very little loſs to their trenches. Upon the news of this defeat, Caſſibelan, conſidering the many loſſes he had ſuſtained, how his country was laid waſte, and above all that ſeveral ſtates had already ſubmitted to the conqueror, reſolved to follow their example; he accordingly ſent ambaſſadors to treat of a ſurrender; who were introduced by Comius of Attrebatum, or Arras. As the ſummer was already far ſpent, Cæſar, who was determined to winter in Gaul to prevent further inſurrections there, gladly hearkened to their propoſals; ſo that a treaty was concluded upon the following conditions: that the Britons ſhould pay an annual tribute to Rome; that Caſſibelan ſhould leave

leave Mandubratius in the quiet poſſeſſion of his dominions, and not moleſt the Trinobantes; and that he ſhould deliver a certain number of hoſtages. Theſe Cæſar had no ſooner received, than he marched back to the ſea-ſide, where he cauſed his fleet, which was completely refitted, to be launched. As he had a great number of captives, and ſome of his ſhips had been loſt in the ſtorm, he reſolved to tranſport his army at two voyages. But moſt of theſe veſſels, which were ſent back from Gaul after they had landed the ſoldiers that were firſt carried over, and the ſixty that Labienus had built, being driven back by contrary winds, Cæſar, after having long expected them in vain, and leſt the winter ſhould prevent his voyage, the equinox being near at hand, crowded his ſoldiers cloſer than he deſigned, and, putting to ſea in the ſecond watch of the night, thus ſet ſail from Britain---*to which he never after returned.*

Such is the account given by Cæſar himſelf of his two expeditions into Britain; but other authors have ſpoken very doubtfully of his victories in this iſland. Dio Caſſius tells us, that the Britons utterly defeated the Roman infantry, but were at laſt put in diſorder by their cavalry. Horace and Tibullus, in many parts of their works, ſpeak of the Britons as a people "NOT YET CONQUERED." Tacitus ſays, that Cæſar rather ſhewed the Romans the way to Britain than put them in poſſeſſion of it; and Lucan tells us plainly that he turned his back upon the Britons and fled. This laſt, however, conſidering the conſummate military genius of Cæſar, is by no means probable. That he left Britain juſt before the winter, was, in all probability, to prevent inſurrections among the Gauls, which might very readily have happened; and that he did not return to finiſh his conqueſt can be no wonder, ſeeing his ambition would certainly be more gratified by being called emperor of Rome than conqueror of Britain.

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In his Commentaries, Cæsar gives us the following account of the evolutions of the Britons in time of action. "This is their method of fighting from chariots: they first ride to all parts and throw their darts, and frequently break our ranks by the prancing of their steeds, and rattling of the wheels; and, when they have got amongst the troops of horse, they alight from their chariots and fight on foot; the charioteers in the mean while draw off a little from the engagement, and place themselves in such a manner, that, if these should be overborne by the numbers of the enemy, they may have an easy retreat to them. Thus they perform in battle the nimbleness of the horse and the firmness of the foot; and so expert are they by constant use and exercise, that they can stop their horses on full gallop down hill, and can check and turn them in a small compass, run upon the pole, rise upon the harness, and quickly from thence recover the chariot." Dion informs us, that their horses were small and swift, and that they themselves would run with extraordinary fleetness; and further, that, when they came to an engagement, they were firm and immovable.

The departure of Julius Cæsar, which happened about fifty-three years before Christ, left the Britons without any fear of a foreign enemy. We are not, therefore, to imagine, that they would regard their promises of paying tribute; nor was it probably demanded for a great number of years afterwards. Augustus, when he had got himself firmly established on the imperial throne, had twice a design of invading Britain and forcing the inhabitants to pay the tribute promised to Julius Cæsar. Both times, however, he was prevented by revolts in different provinces of the empire, so that the Britons still continued to enjoy their liberty. They nevertheless thought proper to court the favour of the Romans as much as they could by pretended submissions; but in the reign of Claudius the Romans set about reducing them to

ſubjection in good earneſt. The occaſion of this war is related by Dio Caſſius as follows:---Cunobelinus, the third in ſucceſſion from Caſſibelaunus, being dead, his two ſons, Togodumnus and Caractacus, ſucceeded to the throne; but whether they reigned jointly or ſeparately is not known. In their reign one Bericus, of whom we alſo know very little, being driven out of the iſland for attempting to raiſe a ſedition, fled with ſome of his partiſans to Rome, and perſuaded Claudius to make war on his countrymen. The Britons, on the other hand, reſented the behaviour of Claudius in receiving theſe rebels, and therefore prohibited all intercourſe with the Romans. A much ſmaller offence than this would have been ſufficient at any time to provoke that haughty nation to declare war. An army was therefore immediately ordered into Britain, under the command of Plautius, prætor in Gaul. The ſoldiers at firſt refuſed to embark, from a ſuperſtitious notion that they were going to be ſent without the compaſs of the world; and, this mutiny being related to the Britons, they did not make the neceſſary preparations for their own defence. The Roman ſoldiers were ſoon brought to a ſenſe of their duty; and ſet out from three different ports, in order to land in three different parts of Britain at once. Being driven back by contrary winds, their fears began to return; but they reſumed their courage on the appearance of a meteor ſhooting from the eaſt, which they imagined was ſent from heaven to direct their courſe. They landed without oppoſition; and the Britons, not having drawn together a ſufficient army, kept in ſmall bodies behind their marſhes, and in woods, in order to ſpin out the war till winter; which they imagined Plautius would, like Cæſar, ſpend in Gaul.

The Roman general marched firſt in queſt of the two kings, Togodumnus and Caractacus; both of whom he found out, and defeated one after another. The Bodunni, who were at this time in ſubjection to

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the Cantuellani, preferring a foreign to a domeſtic yoke, immediately ſubmitted to the Romans; this ſtrengthened the power of Plautius, and gave him an opportunity of improving the diviſions of the Britons to the advantage of his maſter. And, leaving a garriſon, he marched on againſt other Britons who ſtill held out, and had retired beyond the Severn, where they lay careleſsly encamped, thinking themſelves ſufficiently ſafe, as not imagining that the Romans could paſs the river without a bridge. But Plautius had in his army ſome Germans who were accuſtomed to ſwim the ſtrongeſt currents in their armour. Theſe, by his orders, ſwam over the river, and eaſily gained the weſtern ſhore, and, though few in number, ſo aſtoniſhed the Britons, that they retired to a farther diſtance. It was now that Veſpaſian firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf; he, with his brother Sabinus, was detached to ſupport the Germans; which they did, and gained ſome advantage over the troops of the Britons whom they firſt met with. But theſe two actions were far from being deciſive. The next day a general engagement enſued, greatly to the honour of the Britons, as the Romans narrowly eſcaped being entirely cut off. Veſpaſian himſelf was in imminent danger, but was reſcued by the piety of his ſon. C. Sidius Geta, another general officer, who was ſuppoſed to be taken priſoner, diſengaged himſelf, and the troops he commanded, from the enemy, took advantage of the careleſſneſs which the proſpect of a victory had thrown the Britons into, and charged them afreſh. This gave the Romans an opportunity to recover themſelves, and in the end to force the Britons to a retreat. It was both neceſſary and prudent for the Britons to ſhift, as they did, the ſeat of war as often as they could, for the benefit of ſubſiſtence and ſafety, as they had no places deſerving the names of fortifications, nor more proviſions than were barely ſufficient for ſatisfying the moſt frugal calls of nature. They had no ambition

but to preſerve their freedom by harraſſing their enemies. This led them to make a ſtand againſt the Romans towards the mouth of the Thames, among the fens and marſhes, being themſelves perfectly acquainted with every paſſage through them; and by this means, a great number of the Romans who purſued too haſtily periſhed in the fens and ſwamps. But the Germans contrived to ſwim acroſs, while the other ſoldiers paſſed over to attack them, either by laying a bridge, or taking advantage of one which the Britons, by an unpardonable neglect, had left. In this action Togodumnus fell; but the Romans reaped no advantage, ſince it exaſperated the Britons with greater fury againſt them.

Plautius was ſenſible that he ſhould not be able to give a deciſive blow to an enemy who recovered freſh vigour from a defeat. He beheld with wonder the terrors of war redoubled, ready to pour forth its utmoſt revenge on his diſtreſſed troops, whilſt every hand ſeemed determined to ſecure conqueſt and liberty to its owner. Unable, therefore, to reſiſt the torrent which beat down all before it, he prepared to ſecure what he already poſſeſſed, and to preſerve the remainder of his forces, till they could be reinforced from Rome, where he knew great preparations were making to complete the buſineſs he came upon; and for this aſſiſtance he immediately ſent. The country of the Bodunni, that had ſubmitted to Plautius, afforded him and his army a ſecure retreat, which otherwiſe muſt have been cut off by ſword or famine, or by both.

As ſoon as Claudius received intelligence how matters ſtood in Britain, he left the care of the government at home to Vitellius, and haſtened from Oſtia to Marſeilles by ſea. In his paſſage he was three times in danger of being ſhipwrecked upon the Ligurian coaſt. Being arrived at Marſeilles, he travelled by land to Geſſoriacum, now Boulogne, from whence, with

with a great army, he ſet ſail for Britain, and brought with him ſeveral elephants, as being very ſerviceable animals on this occaſion, ſince they could wade through bogs and rivers, impaſſable by foot-men. Claudius having landed, as is ſuppoſed, at Richborough, immediately advanced to Plautius, who in the mean time could have attacked the enemy, who imputed his inactivity to fear; but he avoided coming to action, that the emperor might have the glory of the victory. The Romans had now perhaps a greater army than the Britons had ever ſeen before; but, what was worſe, their diviſions had greatly weakened them, and they were unable to defend themſelves as their brave forefathers had done. The Roman army, commanded by Claudius, paſſed the Thames, and, after a bloody battle, defeated the Britiſh forces, and then attacked and took Camelodunum, the royal ſeat of Cunobeline. This ſo terrified the neighbouring ſtates, that they voluntarily ſubmitted. The Britons, always remarkable for gratitude, were ſo affected by the generoſity of the conqueror, who, only diſarming them, left them in the quiet poſſeſſion of their goods, that they built him a temple, and honoured him as a god. After an abſence of ſix months, Claudius returned to Rome, where he was honoured with a triumph, and he and his ſon with the ſurname of Britannicus, beſides other honours, as if he had conquered all Britain, whereas in fact only a ſmall part had been ſubdued. Plautius, who was left governor, continued to make conqueſts, in which Veſpaſian and his ſon Titus, then only a tribune, bravely diſtinguiſhed themſelves. Veſpaſian in particular fought thirty battles with the Britons, ſubdued two powerful nations, took above twenty towns, and the Iſle of Wight.

In the ninth year of Claudius, P. Oſtorius Scapula was ſent into Britain. By far the greater part of the ſeventeen nations formerly mentioned were at this time unconquered. Some of theſe had broken into

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the Roman territories; but Oſtorius, falling unexpectedly upon them, put great numbers to the ſword, and diſperſed the reſt. To prevent them for the future from making inroads into the territories of the Romans or their allies, he built ſeveral forts on the Severn, the Avon, and the Nen, reducing the country ſouth of theſe rivers to a Roman province. This ſo highly offended the Iceni, that, being joined by the neighbouring nations, they raiſed a conſiderable army, and encamped in an advantageous ſituation, in order to prevent the Romans from penetrating farther into the iſland. Oſtorius, however, ſoon advanced againſt them. The Romans, as uſual, got the victory, and the enemy were purſued with great ſlaughter. The Roman general then, having quelled an inſurrection among the Brigantes, led his army againſt the Silures. They were headed by their king Caractacus, a moſt renowned warrior. He ſhewed his military talents by chooſing a very advantageous place for engaging the enemy. Tacitus tells us, "it was on the ridge of a very ſteep mountain; and, where the ſides of it were inclining and acceſſible, he reared walls of ſtone for a rampart. At the foot of the mountain flowed a river dangerous to be forded, and an army of men guarded his entrenchments." This hill is thought to be one called Caer-Caradoc in Shropſhire, ſituated near the conflux of the rivers Colun and Teme, and where the remains of ancient entrenchments are ſtill viſible.---On the approach of the enemy, Caractacus drew up his troops in order of battle, animating them with the following ſpeech, according to Tacitus: "That from this day, and this battle, they muſt date their liberty reſcued, or their ſlavery for ever eſtabliſhed. He then invoked the ſhades of thoſe heroes who had expelled Cæſar the dictator; thoſe brave men by whoſe valour they ſtill enjoyed freedom from Roman tribute and taxes, and by which their wives and children were as yet preſerved from proſtitution." The whole army then took

took a ſolemn oath either to conquer or die, and prepared for the charge with the moſt terrible ſhouts. Oſtorius was ſomewhat diſmayed when he conſidered the uncommon fierceneſs of the enemy, and the other difficulties which he had to encounter. He led on his men, however, to the charge; but, in their approach to the enemy's camp, a great number fell by the inceſſant ſhowers of darts thrown by the Britons. After a little pauſe, the Romans made a kind of roof over their heads with their ſhields, and, in this manner marching cloſe up to the camp, ſoon broke through the ill-compoſed ſtone ramparts, and, coming into cloſe action, the Romans were attended with their uſual good fortune. The Britons were every where put to flight. Vaſt numbers fell in the field of battle, and in the purſuit, and many more were taken priſoners. Among the latter were the brothers, the wife, and the daughter, of Caractacus; for the Britiſh women were fond of attending the battles, and would often ſet patterns of the moſt ſignal intrepidity and courage to their huſbands and comrades. The unfortunate prince himſelf fled to Cartiſmunda queen of the Brigantes, by whom he was delivered up to the Roman general, who ſent him in chains to Rome. This was eſteemed a very remarkable victory; the name of Caractacus was become famous even in Rome itſelf, in conſequence of the long and vigourous oppoſition he had made to the Roman power for ſeven years, with rude and undiſciplined troops, when compared to the Roman general and his legions, completely armed and bred up in war. When Caractacus was brought to Rome, the people were ſummoned to attend as on ſome ſolemn occaſion; and the prætorian cohorts ſtood to their arms. Firſt came the king's ſervants; then the ſpoils taken in war; after theſe the brothers, the wife, and the daughter, of Caractacus; and laſt of all himſelf; but he, neither in his countenance, words, or actions, expreſſed any kind

kind of fear or baſe ſubmiſſion; but, ſtanding before the tribunal of Claudius, delivered himſelf in the following manner: "If my moderation in proſperity, O Claudius! had been as conſpicuous as my birth and fortune, I ſhould now have entered this city as a friend, and not as a priſoner; nor would you have diſdained the friendſhip of a prince deſcended from ſuch illuſtrious anceſtors, and governing ſo many nations. My preſent condition, I own, is to you honourable, to me humiliating. I was lately poſſeſſed of ſubjects, horſes, arms, and riches. Can you be ſurpriſed that I endeavoured to preſerve them? If you Romans have a deſire to arrive at univerſal monarchy, muſt all nations, to gratify you, tamely ſubmit to ſervitude? If I had ſubmitted without a ſtruggle, how much would it have diminiſhed the luſtre of my fall and of your victory? And now, if you reſolve to put me to death, my ſtory will be ſoon buried in oblivion; but, if you think proper to preſerve my life, I ſhall remain a laſting monument of your clemency."---This ſpeech had ſuch an effect upon Claudius, that he immediately pardoned Caractacus and his whole family, and commanded them to be ſet at liberty.

The Silures, notwithſtanding this terrible blow, continued the war with great vigour, and gained conſiderable advantages over the Romans; which ſo much affected Oſtorius, that he died of grief. He was ſucceeded by A. Didius, who reſtrained the incurſions of the Silures, but was not able to reſtore Cartiſmunda queen of the Brigantes, who had been depoſed by her ſubjects. Didius was ſucceeded by Veranius, and he by Suetonius Paulinus, who ſet out on an expedition againſt the iſle of Angleſey, where the fugitive Britons thought themſelves ſecure, and where their prieſts the Druids had uninterruptedly held their reign, and directed all operations againſt the Roman invaders. This aſylum Suetonius was determined to deſtroy. His infantry paſſed over in flat-bottom boats, perhaps at

the ſpot ſtill called *Pant yr Yſcraphie*, or the valley of *Skiffs*. His cavalry croſſed partly by fording, partly by ſwimming. Of the conflict on this occaſion we have the following animated deſcription by Tacitus: "*Stat pro littore diverſa acies, denſa armis viriſque, intercurſantibus fœminis in modum furiarum, veſte furali, crinibus dejectis, facies preferebant*; druidæque *circum, preces diras ſublatis ad cœlum manibus fundentes. Novitate aſpectus percutere militem, ut quaſi hærentibus membris, immobile corpus vulneribus præberent. Dein cohortionibus ducis, et ſe ipſe ſtimulantes, ne muliebre et fanaticum agmen paveſcerent, inferunt ſigna, ſternuque obvios et igni ſuo involvunt. Præſidium poſthac impoſitum vicis, exciſque luci, ſævis ſuperſtitionibus ſacri. Nam cruore captivo adolere aras, et hominum fibris conſulere deos fas habebant.*"---Thus Engliſhed: "On the ſhore ſtood a motley army in cloſe array, and well armed; with women running wildly about in black attire with diſhevelled hair, and like the furies brandiſhing their torches; ſurrounded by the Druids, lifting up their hands to heaven, and pouring forth the moſt dreadful imprecations. The ſoldier ſtood aſtoniſhed at the novelty of the ſight. His limbs grew torpid, and his body, remaining motionleſs, reſigned to every wound. At length, animated by their leader, and rouſing one another not to be intimidated by a womanly and fanatic band, they diſplayed their enſigns, overthrew all who oppoſed them, and flung them into their own fires. After the battle, they placed garriſons in the towns, and cut down the groves conſecrated to the moſt horrible ſuperſtitions: for the Britons held it right to ſacrifice on their altars with the blood of their enemies, and to conſult the gods by the inſpection of their entrails."

While Suetonius was employed in the conqueſt of this iſland, he was alarmed by the news of an almoſt univerſal revolt among thoſe nations which had before ſubmitted to the Romans. The Britons, though conquered,

quered, had ſtill a deſire of returning to their former ſtate of independence; and the Roman yoke became every day more inſupportable to them through the inſolence and oppreſſion of the Roman ſoldiers. The Britons had been long diſcontented, and were already in a very proper diſpoſition for a revolt, when an event happened which kindled theſe diſcontents into an open flame. Praſutagus, king of the Iceni, a prince renowned for opulence and grandeur, had by his laſt will left the Roman emperor joint heir with his two daughters, in hopes of obtaining his favour and protection by ſo great an obligation. But the event turned out very different. No ſooner was he dead, than his houſes and poſſeſſions were all plundered by the Roman ſoldiers. The queen, Boadicea, remonſtrated againſt this injuſtice; but, inſtead of obtaining any redreſs, ſhe herſelf was publicly whipped, her daughters raviſhed, and the relations of the late king reduced to ſlavery. The whole country alſo was plundered, and all the chiefs of the Iceni deprived of their poſſeſſions.

Boadicea was a woman of too enterpriſing a ſpirit tamely to ſubmit to ſuch indignities. She reſorted to the public meetings, harangued the multitude, and perſuaded the Iceni to take up arms, which they very readily did; and, being joined by the Trinobantes and ſome other nations, ſhe put herſelf at their head, and they poured like a torrent on the Roman colonies. Every thing was deſtroyed with fire and ſword. The ninth legion, which had been left for the defence of the country under Petilius Cerealis, was defeated, the infantry totally cut in pieces, and the commander himſelf with the cavalry eſcaped with the utmoſt difficulty. Suetonius, alarmed at this news, immediately left Angleſey, and marched with the greateſt expedition to London. The inhabitants were overjoyed at his arrival, and uſed their utmoſt endeavours to detain him for their defence. But he refuſed to ſtay, and in a ſhort time left the place, notwithſtanding the intreaties of the inhabitants.

habitants. The whole city lamented his departure; and they had reaſon. Suetonius was ſcarce gone when Boadicea with her exaſperated Britons entered, and put all they found in it to the ſword. None were taken priſoners, nor was any ſex or age ſpared, and many were tortured in the moſt cruel manner. Seventy thouſand perſons are ſaid to have periſhed on this occaſion at London and other Roman colonies.

The Britons, now elated with ſucceſs, aſſembled from all quarters in great numbers, ſo that Boadicea's army ſoon amounted to 230,000 men. They deſpiſed the Romans; and became ſo confident of victory, that they brought their wives and children along with them in waggons to be ſpectators of the deſtruction of their enemies. The event was what might naturally have been expected from ſuch ill-judged confidence. The Britons were overthrown with moſt terrible ſlaughter, no fewer than 80,000 being killed in the battle and purſuit; while the Romans had not above 400 killed and not many more wounded. Boadicea, not able to ſurvive ſo great a calamity, put an end to her life by poiſon.

By this overthrow the Britons who had been ſubdued were thoroughly prevented from raiſing any more inſurrections, and even thoſe who had not yet ſubmitted to the Roman yoke ſeemed to be intimidated from making incurſions into their dominions. Nothing remarkable therefore happened until the time of Veſpaſian, when, Petelius Cerealis being appointed governor of Britain, he attacked the Brigantes, defeated them in ſeveral battles, and reduced great part of their country. He was ſucceeded by Julius Frontinus; who not only maintained the conqueſts of his predeceſſor, but reduced entirely the warlike nation of the Silures. Frontinus was ſucceeded by the celebrated Cneius Julius Agricola, who completed the conqueſt of all the ſouthern Britons.

Juſt before the arrival of Agricola, the Ordovices had cut in pieces a band of horſe ſtationed on their confines, after which the whole nation had taken up arms. The ſummer was pretty far ſpent, and the Roman army was quite ſeparated and diſperſed, the ſoldiers having aſſured themſelves of reſt for the remaining part of the year. Agricola, however, was no ſooner landed than, having drawn together his legions, he marched againſt the enemy without delay. The Britons kept upon the ridges of the mountains; but Agricola purſued them up the aſcents. The Romans were victorious; and ſuch a terrible ſlaughter was made of the Britons, that almoſt the whole nation of the Ordovices was cut off. Without giving the enemy time to recover from the terror which this overthrow had occaſioned, Agricola reſolved upon the immediate reduction of Angleſey, which had been loſt by the revolt of Boadicea. Being deſtitute of ſhips, he detached a choſen body of auxiliaries who knew the fords, and were accuſtomed to manage their arms and horſes in the water. The Britons, who had expected a fleet and tranſports, were ſo terrified by the appearance of the Roman forces on their iſland, that they immediately ſubmitted, and Angleſey was once more reſtored to the Romans.

With the conqueſt of Angleſey ended the firſt campaign of Agricola; and he employed the winter in reconciling the Britons to the Roman yoke. In this he met with ſuch ſucceſs, through his wiſe and equitable conduct, that the Britons, barbarous as they were, began to prefer a life of ſecurity and peace to that independence which they had formerly enjoyed, and which continually expoſed them to the tumults and calamities of war. The ſucceeding campaigns of Agricola were attended with equal ſucceſs: he not only ſubdued the ſeventeen nations inhabiting England, but carried the Roman arms almoſt to the extremity of Scotland. He began his march with a good army, in which he incor-

porated a great number of Britons belonging to the Roman colonies, of whoſe fidelity he was well aſſured. He found the enemy encamped on the mountain Grampius (Grainſbraine hill in the county of Mar) to the number of thirty thouſand men, commanded by Galgacus, one of their princes. The firſt line of Agricola's army was compoſed of eight thouſand auxiliary foot, and he had three thouſand horſe upon the wings; the Roman legion compoſed the ſecond line, with whom he did not propoſe to engage unleſs there was a neceſſity for it. For the Romans ſeldom expoſed their national forces in the front of the battle.

The Britiſh infantry were drawn up on the ſide of the hill, and made as great an appearance as they could, in order to terrify their enemies with their numbers; their horſe and chariots ſcoured over the plain between the two armies, which rang with the very noiſe of them. Agricola, having ordered his front to be extended that the enemy might not flank him, alighted from his horſe, and, ſtanding at the head of the legions, made a ſignal to begin the charge. The two armies fought for ſome time at a diſtance with their darts and arrows, till Agricola commanded three cohorts of Batavians to advance and engage the Britons in a cloſer fight, whoſe ſpears and pointed ſwords gave them a great advantage over the Britons, and compelled them to retire. The Britiſh horſe and chariots, not being able to make any impreſſion on the Romans, were diſperſed, and fell in among their own foot, where they did more miſchief than the enemy.

The Caledonian Britons on the tops of the hills, who had not yet engaged, obſerving the ſmall numbers of the Romans which charged their forces, were about to ſurround them, when Agricola detached four troops of horſe from the body of reſerve, which ſoon compelled them to retire, and a total rout immediately followed. Of the Britons were killed about ten thouſand, and of the Romans not above three hundred and

and forty, among whom the moſt conſiderable was Aulus Atticus, præfect of a cohort, who, by his own youthful heat and the fierceneſs of his horſe, was carried away among the thickeſt of the enemy. The night coming on, the Caledonians fled to the woods and inacceſſible part of the country, not endeavouring to keep together in a body: they burnt and deſtroyed their own houſes in their retreat, ſo that the next morning the Romans obſerved the whole country to be in a ſmoke, but not a man to be found. It being now the latter end of the ſummer, Agricola led his army to the country of the Horeſti, which ſome take to be the people of Angus-upon-Tay in the eaſtern part of Scotland. Having received hoſtages of this people, he led back the horſe and foot by eaſy marches, the better to ſettle and confirm his new conqueſts, after which the army went into winter-quarters. He alſo cauſed his fleet to ſail round the iſland, and diſcovered the Orcades, or Orkney iſlands, which had before been unknown to the reſt of the world. His expedition took him up about ſix years, and was completed in the year of Chriſt 84.

Had this commander been continued in Britain, it is probable that both Scotland and England would have been permanently ſubdued; but he was recalled by Domitian in the year 85, and we are then almoſt totally in the dark about the Britiſh affairs till the reign of the emperor Adrian. During this interval the Caledonians had taken arms, and not only refuſed ſubjection to the Roman power themſelves, but ravaged the territories of thoſe Britons who continued faithful to them. Adrian ſet out to ſubdue them; but, upon his arrival, they retired towards the north: he advanced however as far as York, where he was diverted from his intended conqueſt by the deſcription ſome old ſoldiers he found there, who had ſerved under Agricola, gave him of the country. In hopes, therefore, of keeping them quiet by enlarging their bounds, he delivered

delivered up to the Caledonians all the lands lying between the two Friths and the Tyne; and at the ſame time, to ſecure the Roman province from their future incurſions, built the famous wall which ſtill bears his name, eighty miles in length, from the river Eden in Cumberland to the Tyne in Northumberland. He was ſucceeded by Antoninus Pius, in whoſe reign the Brigantes revolted; and the Caledonians, having in ſeveral places broken down the wall built by Adrian, began anew to ravage the Roman territories. Againſt them the emperor ſent Lollius Urbicus, who reduced the Brigantes; and, having defeated the northern nations, confined them within narrower bounds by a new wall, extending probably between the Friths of Forth and Clyde. From the time of Antoninus to that of Severus, the Roman dominions in Britain continued to be much infeſted by the inroads of the northern nations. That emperor divided Britain into two governments, the ſouthern and the northern; but the governor of the northern diviſion was ſo harraſſed by continual incurſions of the Caledonians, that he was at length obliged to purchaſe a peace with money. The Caledonian Britons kept the treaty for fifteen years; after which, breaking into the Roman territories anew, they committed terrible ravages. Virius Lupus the governor, not being in a condition to withſtand them, acquainted the emperor with his diſtreſs, intreating him to ſend powerful and ſpeedy ſupplies. Upon this Severus reſolved to put an end to the perpetual incurſions of the enemy by making a complete conqueſt of their country; for which purpoſe he ſet out for Britain, together with his two ſons Caracalla and Geta, at the head of a numerous army. The Caledonians no ſooner heard of his arrival, than they ſent ambaſſadors offering to conclude a peace upon honourable terms. But theſe the emperor detained till he was ready to take the field, and then diſmiſſed them without granting their requeſt.

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As ſoon as the ſeaſon was fit for action, Severus marched into the territories of the Caledonians, where he put all to fire and ſword. He advanced even to the moſt northerly parts of the iſland; and, though no battle was fought in this expedition, yet, through the continual ambuſcades of the enemy and the inhoſpitable nature of the country, he is ſaid to have loſt fifty thouſand men. At laſt the Caledonians were obliged to ſue for peace; which was granted them on condition of their yielding part of their country, and delivering up their arms. After this the emperor returned to York, leaving his ſon Caracalla to command the army and finiſh the new wall which had been begun between the friths of Forth and Clyde. But the emperor being taken ill at York, the Caledonians no ſooner heard of his indiſpoſition, than they again took up arms. This provoked Severus to ſuch a degree, that he commanded his ſon Caracalla to enter their country anew with the whole army, and to put all he met to the ſword without diſtinction of ſex or age. Before theſe orders, however, could be put in execution, his two ſons, having concluded a ſhameful peace with the Caledonians, returned to Rome.

In the beginning of Dioclesian's reign, Carauſius, a native of Gaul, paſſing over into Britain, took upon him the title of *emperor*, and was acknowledged by all the troops quartered here. He was, however, killed in a battle with one of Conſtantius's officers, after he had enjoyed the ſovereignty for ſix or ſeven years. Conſtantine the Great began his reign in this iſland; and returned ſoon after he had left it, probably with a deſign to put a ſtop to the daily incurſions of the Caledonians. He altered the diviſion of that part of Britain ſubject to the Romans. Severus had divided it only into two provinces; but Conſtantine increaſed the number to three, viz. Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, and Maxima Cæſarienſis; and this laſt was afterwards divided into two, viz. Maxima Cæſarienſis and

and Flavia Cæſarienſis. The removal of the imperial ſeat from Rome to Conſtantinople, which happened in the reign of Conſtantine, gave the northern nations an opportunity of making frequent incurſions into the Roman provinces; the emperor having carried with him, firſt into Gaul and then into the Eaſt, not only moſt of the Roman troops, but likewiſe the flower of the Britiſh youth.

About the latter end of the reign of Conſtantius, ſon to Conſtantine the Great, the government of the province of Britain and other weſtern parts of the empire was committed to Julian, afterwards called the *apoſtate*. While he was in his winter-quarters at Paris, he was informed that the Scots and Picts, about this time firſt diſtinguiſhed by theſe names, had broken into the Roman territories, and committed every where dreadful ravages. Againſt them Julian diſpatched a body of troops under the command of Lupicinius. He embarked from Boulogne in the depth of winter, but was no ſooner arrived at London than he was recalled; the enemy having probably found means to appeaſe Julian by their ſubmiſſions. Till the reign of Valentinian I. theſe nations ſtill continued to infeſt the Roman territories in Britain, and had now reduced the country to a moſt deplorable condition by their continual ravages. Valentinian ſent againſt them Theodoſius, father to the emperor of that name. That general, having divided his forces into ſeveral bodies, advanced againſt the enemy, who were roving up and down the country. The Scots and Picts were obliged to yield to the ſuperior valour and diſcipline of the Romans. Great numbers were cut to pieces; they were forced to abandon all the booty and priſoners they had taken, and to retire beyond the friths of Forth and Clyde. Theodoſius then entered London in triumph, and reſtored that city to its former ſplendor, which had ſuffered greatly by the former incurſions of the northern Britons. To reſtrain them from breaking anew into

the provinces, Theodoſius built ſeveral forts or caſtles between the two friths; and, having thus recovered all the country between Adrian's wall and the friths of Forth and Clyde, he formed of it a fifth province, which he called Valentia.

Though Britain was now reduced to a ſtate of temporary tranquillity, yet, as the Roman empire was daily declining, it is not to be ſuppoſed that ſufficient care could be taken to ſecure ſuch a diſtant province. In the reign of the emperor Honorius, the provincial Britons found themſelves annoyed not only by the Scots and Picts, but alſo by the depredations of the Saxons, who began to commit ravages on the ſea-coaſts. Upon this the Britons, finding no aſſiſtance from Honorius, reſolved to ſet up an emperor of their own. Accordingly they inveſted with the imperial dignity one Mark, an officer of great credit among them; him they murdered in a few days, and placed on the throne one Gratian, a native of Britain. After a reign of four months, Gratian underwent the fate of his predeceſſor; and, was ſucceeded by Conſtantine, a common ſoldier, who was choſen merely for the ſake of his name. He ſeems, however, to have been a man of ſome knowledge and experience in war. He drove the Scots and Picts beyond the limits of the Roman territories; but, being elated with this ſucceſs, he would now be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than the conqueſt of the whole Roman empire. He therefore paſſed over into Gaul; and took with him not only the few Roman forces that had been left, but ſuch of the provincial Britons as were moſt accuſtomed to arms. The country was now left entirely defenceleſs; and the Britons, having frequently implored aſſiſtance from Rome without receiving any, reſolved to withdraw their allegiance from an empire which was no longer able to protect them. Honorius himſelf applauded their conduct: and adviſed them by letters to provide for their own ſafety, which was in

effect

effect an implicit resignation of the sovereignty of the island.

The provincial Britons now regained their independence; and Gallio, the commander of the Roman troops, exhorted them to defend themselves, by fighting bravely for their country, wives, and children, and, what ought to be dearer than life itself, their liberty; telling them, at the same time, that their enemies were no stronger than themselves, provided they would but exert their ancient courage and resolution. That they might the better withstand the attacks of the enemy, he advised them to build a wall, not of turf, but of stone; offering to assist and direct them himself in the execution. Upon this the Britons immediately fell to work; and, with the assistance of the Romans, finished it in a short time, though it was no less than eight feet thick, and twelve feet in height. It is thought to have been built on the same place where Severus's wall formerly stood. Towers were also built at convenient distances on the east coast, to prevent the descents of the Saxons and other barbarians that came from Germany. Gallio employed the rest of his time in teaching the provincials the art of war. He left them patterns of the Roman weapons, which he also taught them to make; and, after many encouraging exhortations, he took his last farewel of Britain, to which the Romans never returned. There is a great disagreement amongst chronologers as to the year in which the Romans finally abandoned Britain; some placed it in 422; others in 423 or 426; and some in 431, 435, or 437.

Of the British Wars during the Saxon Heptarchy.

THE final departure of the Romans was no sooner known to the Scots and Picts, than they poured in upon the provincial Britons from all quarters, like

hungry wolves breaking into a sheep-fold. When the Scots approached the new-built wall, they found it completely finished, and guarded by great numbers of armed men. But so little had the provincial Britons profited by the military instructions of the Romans, that, instead of placing proper guards and centinels, and relieving one another by turns, their whole number had staid several days and nights upon the ramparts without intermission. Being therefore quite benumbed and wearied out, they were able to make but very little resistance. Many were pulled down with hooks from the battlements, and dashed in pieces: the rest were driven from their stations with showers of darts and arrows. They betook themselves to flight; but that could not save them. The Scots and Picts pursued them close, made a dreadful havock, and took possession of the frontier-towns, which they found deserted by the inhabitants. As they now met with no more opposition, they over-ran the whole country, putting every thing to fire and sword. Their ravages soon occasioned a famine; and this was followed by a kind of civil war. The provincials, unable to support themselves, were obliged to plunder each other of the little the common enemy had left them. The whole country at last became so incapable of supporting those who were left in it, that many fled into the woods, in order to subsist by hunting. In this extremity of distress, some, more resolute than the rest, resuming their native courage, had recourse to arms. They sallied out in parties from the woods and caves where they had been obliged to hide, and, falling unexpectedly on the enemy, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to retire. Having thus obtained some respite, they began again to cultivate their lands; which, having lain fallow for a long time, now produced all sorts of corn in the greatest plenty. This plenty, according to the historian Gildas, occasioned the most consummate wickedness and corruption

corruption of manners among all ranks of men. But however, the Britons had not long enjoyed peace, when they were alarmed by a report, that the Scots and Picts were about to return with a far greater force than before, utterly to extirpate the name of their ſouthern neighbours, and ſeize upon the country for themſelves. This report threw them into the utmoſt conſternation; and, to add to the reſt of their misfortunes, they were now viſited by a dreadful plague, which raged with ſuch violence, that the living were ſcarcely ſufficient to bury the dead. The contagion no ſooner ceaſed, than they found their country invaded by the Scots and Picts, who deſtroyed every thing with fire and ſword; ſo that the provincials were ſoon reduced to the ſame miſerable ſtate they had formerly been in.

At this time the chief, if not the only, king of the ſouthern diviſion of Britain, was one Vortigern. He is ſaid to have been a cruel debauched tyrant, regardleſs of the public welfare, and totally incapable of promoting it. Being now rouſed from his inſenſibility by a ſenſe of his own danger, he ſummoned a council of the chief men of the nation, in order to deliberate about the proper means for delivering the country from thoſe calamities under which it groaned. In this council the moſt pernicious meaſure was adopted that could poſſibly have been reſolved on; namely, to invite to their aſſiſtance the Saxons, a people famous for their piracies and cruelty, and juſtly dreaded by the Britons themſelves. This fatal expedient being agreed upon, ambaſſadors were immediately diſpatched into Germany with advantageous propoſals to the Saxons in caſe they would come over to their aſſiſtance.

The Britiſh ambaſſadors ſoon arrived in Germany, and were favourably received by the Saxons. The latter embraced their propoſal with joy; and the rather, becauſe their ſoothſayers foretold that they

ſhould plunder their Britiſh allies for one hundred and fifty years, and reign over them for twice that time. Three long ſhips, in the Saxon language called *chiules*, were fitted out, under the conduct of Hengiſt and Horſa, two brothers much celebrated for their valour and nobility. They were ſons of Witigiſil, ſaid to be great-grandſon to the Saxon god Woden; a circumſtance which added much to their authority. Having embarked about 1600 men on-board their three veſſels, the two brothers arrived in the Iſle of Thanet in the year 449 or 450. They were received by the inhabitants with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy: the iſle in which they had landed was immediately appointed for their habitation; and a league was concluded, in virtue of which the Saxons were to defend the provincial Britons againſt all foreign enemies; and the provincials were to allow the Saxons pay and maintenance, beſides the place allotted them for their abode. Soon after their arrival, king Vortigern led them againſt the northern nations who had lately broken into the kingdom, and advanced as far as Stamford in the county of Lincoln. Here a very bloody battle was fought, in which the Scots and Picts were utterly defeated, and obliged to relinquiſh their booty.

The Saxons are ſaid to have gained this victory in conſequence of the dreadful havock made with the croſs-bow; a weapon at that time unknown to their enemy, and now firſt brought into Britain by Hengiſt and Horſa. With theſe bows they not only diſcharged arrows, ſtones, and leaden balls, but alſo darts, called *quarreaux*, from their heads being capped with ſquare pyramids of iron, and, according to their elevation, would kill point-blank at the diſtance of from four to eight ſcore yards. The range indeed depended on the ſize and ſtrength of the bow; but the diſtances are ſuch as a common croſs-bow would carry. The effects of this weapon were deemed ſo fatal

fatal and cruel, that the uſe of it was forbidden by the ſecond Lateran council, in the year 1139, under the penalty of an anathema, as hateful to God and unfit to be employed among Chriſtians. They became, however, for many ages, a favourite weapon of the Britons.

Vortigern was now ſo highly pleaſed with the behaviour of his new allies, that he beſtowed large poſſeſſions in the country they had newly delivered upon the two commanders Hengiſt and Horſa. It is ſaid, that, even at this time, Hengiſt was taken with the wealth and fertility of the country; and, obſerving the inhabitants to be quite enervated with luxury, began to entertain hopes of conquering part of it. He therefore, with Vortigern's conſent, invited over ſome more of his countrymen; giving them notice at the ſame time of the fruitfulneſs of the country, the ſupineneſs of the inhabitants, and how eaſily a conqueſt might be effected.

The Saxons readily complied with the invitation; and, in 452, as many more arrived, in ſeventeen veſſels, as, with thoſe already in Britain, made up an army of 5000 men. Along with theſe according to Nennius, came over Rowenna, the daughter of Hengiſt. Vortigern fell in love with this lady; and, in order to obtain her in marriage, divorced his lawful wife. Hengiſt pretended to be averſe to the match; but Vortigern obtained his conſent by inveſting him with the ſovereignty of Kent. The Saxon hiſtorians, indeed, make no mention of Rowenna; but rather inſinuate, that their countrymen made themſelves maſters of Kent by force of arms. It ſeems moſt probable, however, that Vortigern had as yet continued in friendſhip with the Saxons, and even put more confidence in them than in his own ſubjects. For not long after the arrival of this firſt reinforcement, Hengiſt obtained leave to ſend for a ſecond, in order as was pretended, to defend the king from the attempts of his rebellious ſubjects,

ſubjects, as well as of the Scots and Picts. Theſe embarked in forty ſhips, under the command of Octa and Ebuſa, the ſon and nephew, or, according to ſome, the brother and nephew, of Hengiſt. They landed at the Orkney iſlands; and, having ravaged them, as well as all the northern coaſts of Scotland, they conquered ſeveral places beyond the frith, and at laſt obtained leave to ſettle in Northumberland.

The pretence made for this ſettlement was, that the Saxons under Octa and Ebuſa might defend the northern frontiers of the kingdom, as thoſe under Hengiſt and Horſa did the ſouthern parts. Many more Saxons were, under various pretences, invited over; till at laſt the countries from which they came were in a manner depopulated. And now their numbers being greatly increaſed, the Saxons began to quarrel with the natives. They demanded larger allowances of corn and other proviſions; threatening to lay waſte the whole country if their demands were not complied with. The Britons, inſtead of complying with theſe demands, deſired them to return home, ſince their numbers exceeded what they were able to maintain. Upon this, the Saxons concluded a peace with the Scots and Picts; and, turning their arms againſt the unſuſpecting Britons, over-ran the whole country. The Saxons committed every where the greateſt cruelties. All buildings, whether public or private, they levelled with the ground. The cities were pillaged and burnt; and the people maſſacred without diſtinction of ſex or age; and that in ſuch numbers, that the living ſcarcely ſufficed to bury the dead. Some of thoſe who eſcaped the general ſlaughter took refuge among inacceſſible rocks and mountains; but there great numbers periſhed with hunger, or were forced to ſurrender themſelves as ſlaves to their enemies. Some croſſed the ſea, and ſettled either in Holland or in Armorica, now the province of Brittany in France.

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Vortigern,

Westmacott del. J. Pass sculp

The Saxons defeated, and driven back to their Ships, by Vortimer, King of the Britons.

Desfer. J. Pye sculp

ir Ships,

Vortigern, we are told by Nennius, was so far from being reclaimed by these calamities, that he added incest to his other crimes, and married his own daughter. At last, his subjects, provoked at his enormous wickedness and the partiality he shewed to the Saxons, deposed him, and raised his son Vortimer to the throne. He was a young man of great valour, and willingly undertook the defence of his distressed country. He first fell upon the Saxons with what troops he could assemble, and drove them into the isle of Thanet. Here they were besieged, till, being reinforced by fresh supplies from Germany, they opened themselves a way through the British troops. Vortimer, however, was not yet disheartened. He fell upon the Saxons on the banks of the Derwent in Kent, where he obtained a complete victory, and cut in pieces great numbers of the enemy. Another battle was fought at Aylesford in Kent. Some ascribe the victory at this time to the Saxons, and some to the Britons. It is certain, however, that Horsa the brother of Hengist was killed in this engagemeut. He is said to have been buried at a place in the neighbourhood, which from him obtained the name of Horstead. A third battle was fought, in which the victory was uncertain, as is also the place where it happened. The fourth battle however, according to Nennius, proved decisive in favour of the Britons. Vortimer engaged his enemies, according to some, at Folkstone; according to others, at a place called Stonar, in the isle of Thanet. The Saxons were defeated with great slaughter, and driven back to their ships. So complete is this victory said to have been, that the Saxons quitted the island without making any attempt upon it for five years afterwards.

Vortimer died after a reign of six years. On his death-bed, he desired his servants to bury him near the place where the Saxons used to land; being per-

 suaded

ſuaded that the virtue of his bones would effectually prevent them from ever touching the Britiſh ſhore. This command, however, was neglected; and Vortimer was buried at Lincoln according to ſome, or London according to others. Hengiſt was no ſooner informed of his death, than he invaded Britain again with a numerous body of Saxons. He was oppoſed by Vortigern, who had been reſtored to the throne after the death of his ſon Vortimer. Several battles were fought on this occaſion; but at laſt the Britons, being overthrown at a place called Crecanford, with the loſs of 4000 men, were obliged to abandon Kent to their enemies, and retire to London. This happened about the year 458 or 459; and from this time moſt hiſtorians date the erection of the firſt Saxon kingdom in Britain, viz. that of Kent. Hengiſt aſſumed the title of king, and choſe Eſk his ſon for his colleague.

The Britons under Vortigern ſtill continued the war. Hengiſt, finding himſelf unable to gain a deciſive advantage over them in the field, had recourſe to treachery. He pretended to be deſirous of concluding a peace with the Britiſh monarch, and of renewing his ancient friendſhip with him; and therefore required an interview. To this Vortigern readily conſented, and accepted of an entertainment prepared for him by Hengiſt. The king was attended by 300 nobility all unarmed, but the Saxons had concealed daggers under their garments. The Britiſh nobility were all treacherouſly maſſacred in the height of their mirth; Vortigern himſelf was taken and put in fetters; nor could his liberty be procured but by ceding to the Saxons thoſe provinces now called Eſſex, Suſſex, and Middleſex. Thus the Saxons got ſuch a footing in Britain that they could never afterwards be expelled. Vortigern, after being ſet at liberty, is ſaid to have retired to a vaſt wilderneſs near the fall of the Wye in Radnorſhire,

Radnorſhire, where he was ſome time after killed by lightning, which alſo conſumed a city called Kaer Gourtigern, which he had built in that place.

On the retreat of Vortigern, the command of the Britiſh forces devolved upon Aurelius Ambroſius, or, as Gildas calls him, Ambroſius Aurelianus. He was a Roman, and perhaps the laſt that remained in the iſland. He is ſaid to have gained ſeveral victories over the Saxons. Notwithſtanding this, however, they ſtill continued to gain ground; and in the year 491 the foundation of a ſecond Saxon kingdom was laid in Britain. This at firſt comprehended only the county of Suſſex, but ſoon after extended over moſt of the countries lying ſouth of the Humber. It was called the kingdom of the ſouth Saxons.

The German nations being now informed of the good ſucceſs which had attended the Saxons in Britain, new adventurers daily flocked over to ſhare the good fortune of the others. They were chiefly compoſed of three nations, the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. All theſe paſſed under the common appellation ſometimes of Saxons, ſometimes of Angles. They ſpoke the ſame language, and agreed very much in their cuſtoms and inſtitutions, ſo that all of them were naturally led to combine againſt the natives. The moſt active of theſe adventurers was Cerdic, a Saxon, ſaid to be the tenth in deſcent from Woden; and from whom were deſcended the kings of England, in the male line, down to Edward the Confeſſor; and, in the female, down to his preſent majeſty. He landed with his ſon Cenric, and as many men as he could convey in five ſhips, at Yarmouth in Norfolk. The provincials immediately attacked him with great vigour; but, after a ſhort engagement, they were totally defeated. Many other battles were fought, the event of which was moſtly favourable to the Saxons, ſo that the Britons were forced to abandon their ſea-coaſts to them.

In 497, Porta, another Saxon, with his two ſons Bleda and Magla, arrived at Portſmouth, ſo called, as ſome imagine, from this chieftain. The provincials, under the command of a young prince a native of the country, attempted to oppoſe the landing of the Saxons; but his army was defeated with great ſlaughter, and he himſelf killed in the engagement; after which Porta made himſelf maſter of all the neighbouring country. The progreſs of Cerdic, however, alarmed the Britons more than that of all the other Saxon princes. About the year 508, therefore, Nazaleod, ſtyled, by Henry of Huntingdon, the *greateſt of all the Britiſh kings*, aſſembled almoſt the whole ſtrength of the provincial Britons, in order to drive him out of the iſland. Cerdic, on the other hand, took care to ſtrengthen himſelf by procuring aſſiſtance from the other Saxons already in the iſland. He then advanced againſt the Britons, commanding the right wing himſelf, and his ſon Cenric the left. As the two armies drew near each other, Nazaleod perceived the enemy's right wing to be much ſtronger than the left. He therefore attacked it with the flower of his army; and, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, obliged Cerdic to ſave himſelf by flight. Being too eager in the purſuit, however, Cenric fell upon his rear, and the battle was renewed with great vigour. The Britiſh army was at laſt entirely defeated; and 5000 men, among whom was Nazaleod himſelf, were left dead upon the ſpot.

Who ſucceeded Nazaleod in the kingdom of Britain is not known. The Welſh annals leave an interregnum of about ſix years; after which they place the beginning of the reign of Arthur, the moſt renowned Britiſh prince mentioned in hiſtory. The hiſtory of king Arthur is ſo much obſcured by fables, and many abſurd, romantic, and ridiculous, ſtories, that ſome have ſuppoſed that no ſuch perſon ever exiſted. A convincing proof, however, of the exiſtence

ence of king Arthur is, that his tomb was diſcovered at Glaſtonbury in Somerſetſhire, and his coffin dug up, in the reign of Henry II. with the following inſcription upon it in Gothic characters: "Hic jacet ſepultus inclytus rex Arturius in inſula Avalonia." We are told that on his body were plainly to be ſeen the marks of ten wounds, only one of which ſeemed to be mortal.

This renowned prince defeated the Saxons under Cerdic in twelve pitched battles. His exploits are mentioned, by his own hiſtorians, with a modeſty and conciſeneſs that is no bad argument of the truth, and with a particularity of time and place that is a good evidence of the facts. They are noticed by men whom the death of the hero had exempted from all temptation to flattery; they are recited by perſons whom a proximity to the times had precluded from all poſſibility of miſtake; and they are atteſted by the beſt hiſtorical authority, writers who lived cotemporary with him, authors who converſed with his warriors, and hiſtorians that wrote within a few years after him. He is ſpoken of as the honourable father of the Britiſh heroes by the aged Llomarch, a writer actually cotemporary with him and ſome time reſident at his court.

Arthur's principal exploits were againſt the northern Saxons, whilſt he was only prince of the Silures, and Ambroſius was the dictator or pendragon of the Britons. In a ſeries probably of five campaigns, and in a ſucceſſion certainly of eleven victories, this great commander had repelled the Saxons from the north of Flavia, diſlodged them from all Maxima, and diſpoſſeſſed them of all Valentia. And theſe were ſucceſſes ſo unchequered with misfortunes, ſo great in themſelves, and ſo beneficial to the public, that the name of Arthur claims the firſt rank in the liſt of military, and the better one of patriot, heroes. The twelfth battle of Arthur was fought at Banſdown near Bath; in which the Saxons received ſuch a terrible overthrow, that for many

many years they gave the Britons no further moleſtation.

In times of peace Arthur ſaw that an appointment was wanted, which ſhould at once be a more regular and more honourable ſignature of merit; by the certainty of the honour and the greatneſs of the dignity call out all the worth of all the worthy in the nation, and collect it round the throne of the pendragon. Accordingly he eſtabliſhed a military order of knights, whom the king uſually entertained at a round table, to prevent all poſſibility of jealouſy or contention for the upper places. This round table is eighteen feet in diameter, and is now preſerved, as a great curioſity, in the caſtle of Wincheſter, to which place the emperor Charles V. went purpoſely to ſee it, and is ſaid to have deciphered the names of twenty-four knights, which are inſcribed round it. This was the firſt order of knighthood that had ever been inſtituted in the iſland; and it has ſince been imitated by all the nations on the continent. By means of this aſſociation, Arthur raiſed among the provincials a general glow of ingenuous heroiſm, the firſt ſpirit of chivalry that ever appeared in Europe; that manly and honourable gallantry of ſoul, which has made him and his worthies the ſubject of romantic hiſtories over all the weſtern world. By this, and this alone, could he have been what hiſtory repreſents him, the Reverend Father of the Britiſh Heroes in general, even to the concluſion of the ſixth century, and nearly the middle of the ſeventh. The order naturally ſurvived its founder. And the members of it were denominated the warriors of Arthur, though the perſons were born half a century after his death. Under the prudent management of Arthur, for twenty years together, a fair proſpect dawned upon the Britons, and long ſcenes of future glories opened to their imaginations. But the gay viſion was deſtroyed at once by the commencement of a civil war. Many towns ſtill remained in ruins, the memorial of the for-

mer wars and the disgrace of the present. The diffused spirit of chivalry was turned upon the nation, and heroism became the tool of dissention. And the dreadful combination of civil evils was begun and consummated, at once, by the death of the renowned Arthur in battle. Thus died that incomparable hero in 542.

After the death of Arthur, new supplies of Saxons continually flocked over, and a third and fourth kingdom of them were soon formed. The third comprehended the counties of Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Berkshire; to which was afterwards added Cornwall: this was called the kingdom of the West Saxons. The other kingdom, which was called the kingdom of the East Saxons, comprehended Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire. Five years afterwards, was erected the Saxon kingdom of Northumberland: it extended, however, much farther than the present bounds of that county; for it comprehended all Yorkshire, Lancashire, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Northumberland, with part of Scotland, as far as the frith of Forth. Between these Saxon kings frequent contentions now arose; by which means the Britons enjoyed an uninterrupted tranquillity for at least forty-four years. This interval, however, according to Gildas, they employed only in corrupting their manners more and more, till at last they were roused from their security by the setting up of a sixth Saxon kingdom, called the kingdom of the East Angles. It was founded in 575, and comprehended the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and the isle of Ely. The Saxons once more attacked the Britons, and overthrew them in many battles. The war was concluded for ten years; after which, another Saxon kingdom called Mercia was set up. It comprehended seventeen counties; viz. Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, Warwick, Leicester, Rutland, Northampton, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Bedford,

Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford, Stafford, Nottingham, Derby, Shropſhire, Cheſhire, and part of Hertfordſhire.

The provincial Britons were now confined within very narrow bounds. However, before they entirely gave up the beſt part of their country to their enemies, they once more reſolved to try the event of a battle. At this time they were aſſiſted by the Angles, who were jealous of the overgrown power of the Weſt Saxons. The battle was fought in Wiltſhire, at Woden's Bearth, a place near the ditch called Wanſdike, or Wodenſdike, which runs through the middle of the county. The battle was very obſtinate and bloody; but at laſt the Saxons were entirely defeated, and almoſt their whole army cut off. The victory, however, proved of little ſervice to the Britons: for, being greatly inferior in number to the Saxons, and harraſſed by them on the one ſide, and by the Scots and Picts on the other, they were daily more and more confined; and were at laſt obliged to take refuge among the craggy and mountainous places in the Weſt of the iſland, where their enemies could not purſue them. At firſt they poſſeſſed all the country beyond the rivers Dee and Severn, which anciently divided Cambria, or Wales, from England; the towns which ſtand on the eaſtern banks of theſe rivers having moſtly been built in order to reſtrain the incurſions of the Welſh. But, the Engliſh, having paſſed the Severn, by degrees ſeized on the country lying between that river and the Wye. Nay, in former times, ſome parts of Flintſhire and Denbighſhire were ſubject to the kings of Mercia: for Uffa, the moſt powerful king of that country, cauſed a deep ditch to be drawn, and a high wall built, as a barrier between his dominions and the territories of the Welſh, from the mouth of the Dee, a little above Flint-caſtle, to the mouth of the Wye. This ditch is ſtill to be ſeen in ſeveral places; and is called by the Welſh *Claudh Uffa*, or the Ditch

Ditch of Uffa. The inhabitants of the towns on the eaſt ſide of this ditch are called by the ſame people *Guyr y Mers*; that is, The men of Mercia.

Thus, after a violent conteſt for an hundred and fifty years, the Saxons entirely ſubdued the Britons whom they had come to defend, and had erected ſeven independent kingdoms in England, now commonly denominated the Saxon Heptarchy. By theſe conquerors the country was reduced to a degree of barbarity almoſt as great as it had been in when firſt invaded by the Romans. The provincial Britons, during their ſubjection to that people, had made conſiderable advances in civilization. They had built twenty-eight conſiderable cities, beſides a number of villages and country ſeats; but now theſe were all levelled with the ground, the native inhabitants who remained in England were reduced to the moſt abject ſlavery, and every art and ſcience totally extinguiſhed among them.

Before theſe fierce conquerors could be civilized in any degree, it was neceſſary that all the ſeven kingdoms ſhould be reduced under one head; for, as long as they remained independent, their continual wars with each other ſtill kept them in the ſame ſtate of barbarity and ignorance.

The hiſtory of theſe ſeven kingdoms affords no event that can be in the leaſt intereſting. It conſiſts only of a detail of their quarrels for the ſovereignty. This was at laſt obtained by Egbert, king of the Weſt Saxons, or Weſſex, in 827. Before this time, Chriſtianity had been introduced into almoſt all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy; and, however much corrupted it might be by coming through the impure channel of the church of Rome, and miſunderſtood through the ignorance of thoſe who received it, it had conſiderably ſoftened the barbarous manners of the Saxons. It had alſo opened a communication between Britain and the more polite parts of Europe; ſo that there was now ſome hope of the introduction of arts and

ſciences into this country. Another effect was, that, by the ridiculous notions of preſerving inviolable chaſtity even between married people, the royal families of moſt of the kingdoms were totally extinct; and the people, being in a ſtate of anarchy, were ready to ſubmit to the firſt who aſſumed any authority over them.

All theſe things contributed to the ſucceſs of Egbert in uniting the heptarchy under his own dominion. He was of the royal family of Weſſex; and a nearer heir than Brithric, who had been raiſed to the kingdom in 784. As Egbert was a prince of great accompliſhments, Brithric, knowing that he had a better title to the crown than himſelf, began to look upon him with a very jealous eye. Young Egbert, ſenſible of his danger, privately withdrew to France; where he was well received by Charlemagne, the reigning monarch. The French were reckoned at this period the moſt valiant and polite people in Europe; ſo that this exile proved of great ſervice to Egbert.

He continued at the court of France till he was recalled by the nobility to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Weſſex. This recal was occaſioned by the following accident:---Brithric the king of Weſſex had married Eadburga, natural daughter of Offa king of Mercia; a woman infamous for cruelty and incontinence. Having great influence over her huſband, ſhe often perſuaded him to deſtroy ſuch of the nobility as were obnoxious to her; and, where this expedient failed, ſhe herſelf had not ſcrupled to become their executioner. She had mixed a cup of poiſon for a young nobleman who had acquired a great ſhare of her huſband's friendſhip; but unfortunately the king drank of the fatal potion along with his favourite, and ſoon after expired. By this and other crimes Eadburga became ſo odious to the people, that ſhe was forced to fly into France, whence Egbert was at the ſame time recalled, as above-mentioned.

Egbert

Egbert aſcended the throne of Weſſex in the year 799. He was the ſole deſcendant of thoſe conquerors who firſt invaded Britain, and who derived their pedigree from Woden. But, though this circumſtance might have given him great advantages in attempting to ſubdue the neighbouring kingdoms, Egbert for ſome time gave them no diſturbance; but turned his arms againſt the Britons, who had retired into Cornwall, whom he defeated in ſeveral battles. He was recalled from his conqueſts in that country by hearing that Bernulf king of Mercia had invaded his dominions. Egbert quickly led his army againſt the invaders, whom he totally defeated at Ellendun in Wiltſhire. He then entered their kingdom on the ſide of Oxfordſhire with an army, and at the ſame time ſent his eldeſt ſon Ethelwolf with another into Kent. The young prince expelled Baldred the tributary king of Kent, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of the country. The kingdom of Eſſex was conquered with equal eaſe; and the Eaſt Angles, who had been reduced under ſubjection by the Mercians, joyfully put themſelves under the protection of Egbert. Bernulf himſelf marched againſt them, but was defeated and killed; and Ludican his ſucceſſor met with the ſame fate two years after.

Theſe misfortunes greatly facilitated the reduction of Mercia. Egbert ſoon penetrated into the very heart of the Mercian territories, and gained an eaſy victory over a diſpirited and divided people; but, in order to engage them to ſubmit with the leſs reluctance, he allowed Wigliff, their countryman, to retain the title of king, whilſt he himſelf exerciſed the real power of a ſovereign. Northumberland was at that time in a ſtate of anarchy: and this tempted Egbert to carry his victorious arms into that kingdom alſo. The inhabitants, being deſirous of living under a ſettled form of government, readily ſubmitted, and owned him for their ſovereign. To them, however, he likewiſe al-

lowed the power of electing a king; who paid him a tribute and was dependant on him.

Egbert became ſole maſter of England about the year 827. A favourite opportunity was now offered to the Anglo-Saxons of becoming a civilized people, as they were at peace among themſelves, and ſeemed free from any danger of a foreign invaſion. But this flattering proſpect was ſoon overcaſt. Five years after Egbert had eſtabliſhed his new monarchy, the Danes landed in the iſle of Shepey, plundered it, and then made their eſcape with ſafety. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, next year they landed from a fleet of thirty-five ſhips. They were encountered by Egbert at Charmouth in Dorſetſhire. The battle was obſtinate and bloody. Great numbers of the Danes were killed, but the reſt made good their retreat to their ſhips. They next entered into an alliance with the Britons of Cornwall; and, landing two years after in that country, they made an irruption into Devonſhire. Egbert met them at Hengeſdown, and totally defeated them; but, before he had time to form any regular plan for the defence of the kingdom, he died, and left the government to his ſon Ethelwolf.

The new king was weak and ſuperſtitious. He began with dividing the kingdom, which had ſo lately been united, with his ſon Athelſtan. To the young prince he gave the counties of Eſſex, Kent, and Suſſex. But, though this diviſion might have been productive of bad conſequences at another time, the fear of the Danes kept every thing quiet for the preſent. Theſe barbarians had ſome how or other conceived ſuch hopes of enriching themſelves by the plunder of England, that they ſcarcely ever failed of paying it an annual viſit. The Engliſh hiſtorians tell us, that they met with many ſevere repulſes and defeats; but on the whole it appears that they had gained ground; for in 851 a body of them took up their winter-quarters in England. Next year they received a ſtrong reinforcement

ment of their countrymen in three hundred and fifty veſſels; and advancing from the iſle of Thanet, where they had ſtationed themſelves, they burnt the cities of London and Canterbury. Having next put to flight Brichtric the governor of Mercia, they marched into the heart of Surrey, laying waſte the whole country through which they paſſed.

Ethelwolf, though naturally little fitted for military enterpriſes, was now obliged to take the field. He marched againſt the Danes at the head of the Weſt Saxons, and gained an indeciſive though bloody victory over his enemies. The Danes ſtill maintained their ſettlement in the iſle of Thanet. They were attacked by Ealher and Huda, governors of Kent and Surrey; both of whom they defeated and killed. Afterwards they removed to the iſle of Shepey, where they took up their winter-quarters, with a deſign to extend their ravages the next year.

The deplorable ſtate of the kingdom did not hinder Ethelwolf from making a pilgrimage to Rome, whither he carried his fourth and favourite ſon Alfred, then only ſix years of age. He paſſed a twelvemonth in that city; made preſents to the principal eccleſiaſtics there; and made a grant of three hundred mancuſes (a ſilver coin about the weight of our half-crown) annually to the ſee of Rome: one-third of this was to ſupport the lamps of St. Peter's, another thoſe of St. Paul's, and the other was for the pope himſelf. In his return to England, Ethelwolf married Judith, daughter of the emperor Charles the Bald; but, when he landed, he found himſelf deprived of his kingdom by his ſon Ethelbald. That prince aſſumed the government of Athelſtan's dominions, who was lately dead; and, with many of Ethelwolf's nobles, formed a deſign of excluding him from the throne altogether, on account of his weakneſſes and ſuperſtitions. Ethelwolf, however, delivered the people from the calamities of a civil war, by dividing the kingdom with his ſon. He gave

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to Ethelbald the government of the weſtern, and reſerved to himſelf that of the eaſtern, part of the kingdom. Immediately after this, he ſummoned the ſtates of the whole kingdom, and conferred on the clergy a perpetual donation of tythes, for which they had long contended, and which had been the ſubject of their ſermons for ſeveral centuries.

This conceſſion was deemed ſo meritorious by the Engliſh, that they now thought themſelves ſure of the favour of heaven; and therefore neglected to uſe the natural means for their ſafety which they might have done. They even agreed, that, notwithſtanding the deſperate ſituation of affairs at preſent, the revenues of the church ſhould be exempted from all burdens, though impoſed for the immediate ſecurity and defence of the nation. Ethelwolf died two years after he had made the above-mentioned grant, and left the kingdom to his two eldeſt ſons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert. Both theſe princes died in a few years, and left the kingdom to Ethered, their brother, in the year 866.

The whole courſe of Ethered's reign was diſturbed by the irruptions of the Danes. The king defended himſelf againſt them with great bravery, being ſeconded in all his military enterpriſes by his younger brother Alfred, who afterwards aſcended the throne. In this reign, the Danes firſt landed among the Eaſt Angles. That people treacherouſly entered into an alliance with the common enemy, and furniſhed them with horſes, which enabled them to make an irruption into Northumberland. They ſeized alſo upon the city of York. Oſbricht and Ella, two Northumbrian princes, who attempted to reſcue the city, were defeated and killed. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the Danes penetrated into the kingdom of Mercia, took up their winter-quarters at Nottingham, and thus threatened the kingdom with a final ſubjection. From this poſt, however, they were diſlodged by Ethelred and Alfred, who forced

ced them to retire into Northumberland. Their reſtleſs and ſavage diſpoſition, however, did not ſuffer them to continue long in one place. They broke into Eaſt Anglia; defeated and took priſoner Edmund the tributary king of that country, whom they afterwards murdered; and committed every where the moſt barbarous ravages. In 871, they advanced to Reading; from whence they infeſted the neighbouring country by their incurſions. The Mercians, deſirous of recovering their independence, refuſed to join Ethered with their forces; ſo that he was obliged to march againſt the Danes attended only by the Weſt Saxons, who were his hereditary ſubjects. Several actions enſued, in which the Danes are ſaid to have been ſucceſsful; but, being continually reinforced from their own country, they became every day more formidable to the Engliſh. During the confuſion and diſtreſs in which the nation was now neceſſarily involved, king Ethered died of a wound he had received in an action with the Danes; and left to his brother Alfred the kingdom almoſt totally ſubdued by a foreign power.

Alfred, who may properly be called the founder of the Engliſh monarchy, aſcended the throne in the year 871, being then only twenty-two years of age. At the beginning of his reign he found himſelf involved in a dangerous war with the Danes, and placed in ſuch circumſtances of diſtreſs as called for the greateſt valour, reſolution, and all the other virtues with which he was adorned. The Danes had already penetrated into the heart of his kingdom; and, before he had been a month upon the throne, he was obliged to take the field againſt thoſe formidable enemies. After many battles gained on both ſides, he was at length reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs, and was entirely abandoned by his ſubjects. In this ſituation, Alfred, conceiving himſelf no longer a king, laid aſide all marks of royalty, and took ſhelter in the houſe of one who kept his cattle. He retired afterwards to the iſle of Æthe-

lingey in Somerſetſhire, where he built a fort for the ſecurity of himſelf, his family, and the few faithful ſervants who repaired thither to him. When he had been about a year in this retreat, having been informed that ſome of his ſubjects had routed a great army of the Danes, killed their chiefs, and taken their magical ſtandard, he iſſued his letters, giving notice where he was, and inviting his nobility to come and conſult with him. Before they came to a final determination, Alfred, putting on the habit of a harper, went into the enemy's camp, where, without ſuſpicion, he was every where admitted, and had the honour to play before their princes. Having thereby acquired an exact knowledge of their ſituation, he returned in great ſecrecy to his nobility, whom he ordered to their reſpective homes, there to draw together each man as great a force as he could; and, upon a day appointed, there was to be a general rendezvous at the great wood, called Selwood, in Wiltſhire. This affair was tranſacted ſo ſecretly and expeditiouſly, that, in a little time, the king, at the head of an army, approached the Danes before they had the leaſt intelligence of his deſign. Alfred, taking advantage of the ſurpriſe and terror they were in, fell upon them, and totally defeated them at Æthendune, now Eddington. Thoſe who eſcaped fled to a neighbouring caſtle, where they were ſoon beſieged, and obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. Alfred granted them better terms than they could expect. He agreed to give up the whole kingdom of the Eaſt Angles to ſuch as would embrace the Chriſtian religion, on condition they would oblige the reſt of their countrymen to quit the iſland, and, as much as it was in their power, prevent the landing of any more foreigners. For the performance thereof he took hoſtages; and when, in purſuance of the treaty, Guthrum the Daniſh captain came, with thirty of his chief officers, to be baptized, Alfred anſwered for him at the font, and gave him the name of Æthelſtane; and

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certain laws were drawn up betwixt the king and Guthrum for the regulation and government of the Danes ſettled in England. In 884, a freſh number of Danes landed in Kent, and laid ſiege to Rocheſter; but, the king coming to the relief of that city, they were obliged to abandon their deſign. Alfred had now great ſucceſs; which was chiefly owing to his fleet, an advantage of his own creating. Having ſecured the ſea-coaſts, he fortified the reſt of the kingdom with caſtles and walled towns; and he beſieged and recovered from the Danes the city of London, which he reſolved to repair, and to keep as a frontier.

After ſome years reſpite, Alfred was again called into the field: for a body of Danes, being worſted in the weſt of France, came with a fleet of two hundred and fifty ſail on the coaſt of Kent; and, having landed, fixed themſelves at Apple-tree: ſhortly after, another fleet of eighty veſſels coming up the Thames, the men landed, and built a fort at Middleton. Before Alfred marched againſt the enemy, he obliged the Danes, ſettled in Northumberland and Eſſex, to give him hoſtages for their good behaviour. He then moved towards the invaders, and pitched his camp between their armies, to prevent their junction. A great body, however, moved off to Eſſex; and, croſſing the river, came to Farnham in Surrey, where they were defeated by the king's forces. Mean while the Danes ſettled in Northumberland, in breach of treaty, and notwithſtanding the hoſtages given, equipped two fleets; after plundering the northern and ſouthern coaſts, they ſailed to Exeter, and beſieged it. The king, as ſoon as he received intelligence, marched againſt them; but, before he reached Exeter, they had got poſſeſſion of it. He kept them, however, blocked up on all ſides; and reduced them at laſt to ſuch extremities, that they were obliged to eat their horſes, and were even ready to devour each other. Being at length rendered deſperate, they made a general ſally on the beſiegers; but were de-

feated, though with great loſs on the king's ſide. The remainder of this body of Danes fled into Eſſex, to the fort they had built there, and to their ſhips. Before Alfred had time to recruit himſelf, another Daniſh leader, whoſe name was Laf, came with a great army out of Northumberland, and deſtroyed all before him, marching on to the city of Werheal in the weſt, which is ſuppoſed to be Cheſter, where they remained the reſt of that year. The year following they invaded North-Wales; and, after having plundered and deſtroyed every thing, they divided, one body returning to Northumberland, another into the territories of the Eaſt-Angles; from whence they proceeded to Eſſex, and took poſſeſſion of a ſmall iſland called Mereſig. Here they did not long remain; for, having parted, ſome ſailed up the river Thames, and others up the Lea-road; where drawing up their ſhips, they built a fort not far from London, which proved a great check upon the citizens, who went in a body and attacked it, but were repulſed with great loſs: at harveſt time the king himſelf was obliged to encamp with a body of troops in the neigbourhood of the city, in order to cover the reapers from the excurſions of the Danes. As he was one day riding by the ſide of the river Lea, after ſome obſervation, he began to think that the Daniſh ſhips might be laid quite dry: this he attempted, and ſuccceded; ſo that the Danes deſerted their fort and ſhips, and marched away to the banks of the Severn, where they built a fort, and wintered at a place called Quatbrig. The king's contrivance is thought to have produced the meadow between Hertford and Bow; for at Hertford was the Daniſh fort, and from thence they made frequent excurſions on the inhabitants of London. Authors are not agreed as to the method the king purſued in laying dry the Daniſh ſhips: Dugdale ſuppoſes that he did it by ſtraitening the channel; but Henry of Huntingdon alledges, that he cut ſeveral canals, which exhauſted its water. Such

of the Daniſh ſhips as could be got off the Londoners carried into their own road; the reſt they burnt and deſtroyed.

Alfred enjoyed a profound peace during the three laſt years of his reign, which he chiefly employed in eſtabliſhing and regulating his government, for the ſecurity of himſelf and his ſucceſſors, as well as the eaſe and benefit of his ſubjects in general. After a troubleſome reign of twenty-eight years, he died on the 28th of October A. D. 900; and was buried at Wincheſter, in Hyde-abbey, under a monument of porphyry.

All our hiſtorians agree in diſtinguiſhing him as one of the moſt valiant, wiſeſt, and beſt, of kings that ever reigned in England; and it is alſo generally allowed, that he not only digeſted ſeveral particular laws ſtill in being, but that he laid the firſt foundation of our preſent happy conſtitution. There is great reaſon to believe that we are indebted to this prince for trials by juries; and the doomſday book, which is preſerved in the exchequer, is thought to be no more than another edition of Alfred's book of Wincheſter, which contained a ſurvey of the kingdom. It is ſaid alſo, that he was the firſt who divided the kingdom into ſhires: what is aſcribed to him is not a bare diviſion of the country, but the ſettling a new form of judicature; for, after having divided his dominions into ſhires, he ſubdivided each ſhire into three parts, called trythings. There are ſome remains of this ancient diviſion in the ridings of Yorkſhire, the laths of Kent, and the three parts of Lincolnſhire. Each trything was divided into hundreds or wapentakes; and theſe again into tythings or dwellings of ten houſeholders: each of theſe houſeholders ſtood engaged to the king as a pledge for the good behaviour of his family, and all the ten were mutually pledges for each other; ſo that, if any one of the tything was ſuſpected of an offence, if the headboroughs or chiefs of the tything would not be ſecurity for him, he was impriſoned; and, if he made his eſcape,

the tything and hundred were fined to the king. Each ſhire was under the government of an earl, under whom was the reive, his deputy; ſince, from his office, called ſhire-reive or ſheriff. And ſo effectual were theſe regulations, that it is ſaid he cauſed bracelets of gold to be hung up in the highways, as a challenge to robbers, and they remained untouched.

In private life, Alfred was the moſt amiable man in his dominions; of ſo equal a temper, that he never ſuffered either ſadneſs or unbecoming gaiety to enter his mind; but appeared always of a calm yet chearful diſpoſition, familiar to his friends, juſt even to his enemies, kind and tender to all. He was a remarkable œconomiſt of his time; and Aſſerius has given us an account of the method he took for dividing and keeping an account of it: he cauſed ſix wax-candles to be made, each of twelve inches long, and of as many ounces weight; on the candles the inches were regularly marked, and, having found that one of them burnt juſt four hours, he committed them to the care of the keepers of his chapel, who from time to time gave him notice how the hours went: but, as in windy weather the candles were waſted by the impreſſion of the air on the flame, to remedy this inconvenience he invented lanthorns, there being then no glaſs in his dominions.

This prince, we are told, was twelve years of age before a maſter could be procured in the weſtern kingdom to teach him the alphabet; ſuch was the ſtate of learning when Alfred began to reign. He had felt the miſery of ignorance; and determined even to rival his cotemporary Charlemagne in the encouragement of literature. He is ſuppoſed to have appointed perſons to read lectures at Oxford, and is thence conſidered as the founder of that univerſity. By other proper eſtabliſhments, and by a general encouragement to men of abilities, he did every thing in his power to diffuſe knowledge throughout his dominions. Nor was this end promoted more by his countenance and encouragement

ment than by his own example and his writings. For, notwithſtanding the lateneſs of his initiation, he had acquired extraordinary erudition; and, had he not been illuſtrious as a king, he would have been famous as an author.

Alfred was ſucceeded by his ſecond ſon, Edward the Elder. The beginning of this monarch's reign was diſturbed by thoſe inteſtine commotions from which the wiſe and politic Alfred had taken ſo much pains to free the nation. Ethelwald, ſon to king Ethelbert, Alfred's elder brother, claimed a right to the throne. Having armed his partiſans, he took poſſeſſion of Winburne, where he ſeemed determined to hold out to the laſt extremity. On the approach of Edward, however, with a powerful army, he firſt fled into Normandy, and afterwards into Northumberland. He hoped to find the Northumbrians ready to join him, as moſt of them were Danes, lately ſubdued by Alfred, and very impatient of peace. The event did not diſappoint his expectations. The Northumbrians declared for him; and Ethelwald, having thus connected himſelf with the Daniſh tribes, went beyond ſea, whence he returned with a great body of theſe banditti. On his return he was joined by the Danes of Eaſt Anglia and Mercia. Ethelwald, at the head of the rebels, made an irruption into the counties of Glouceſter, Oxford, and Wilts; and, having ravaged the country, retired with his booty before the king could approach him. Edward, however, took care to revenge himſelf, by conducting his forces into Eaſt Anglia, and ravaging it in like manner. He then gave orders to retire; but the Kentiſh men, greedy of more plunder, ſtaid behind, and took up their quarters at Bury. Here they were aſſaulted by the Danes; but the Kentiſh men made ſuch an obſtinate defence, that, though their enemies gained the victory, it was bought by the loſs of their braveſt men, and, among the reſt, of the uſurper Ethelwald himſelf.

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The king, now freed from the attempts of ſo dangerous a rival, concluded an advantageous peace with the Eaſt Angles. He next ſet about reducing the Northumbrians; and for this purpoſe equipped a fleet, hoping that thus they would be induced to remain at home to defend their own country, without attempting to invade his territories. He was diſappointed in his expectations. The Northumbrians were more eager to plunder their neighbours than to ſecure themſelves. Imagining that the whole of Edward's forces were embarked on-board his fleet, they entered his territories with all the troops they could raiſe. The king, however, was better prepared for them than they had expected. He atacked them on their return at Tettenhall in the county of Stafford, put them to flight, recovered all their booty, and purſued them with great ſlaughter into their own country.

The reſt of Edward's reign was a ſcene of continued and ſucceſsful action againſt the Northumbrians, Eaſt Angles, the Danes of Mercia, and thoſe who came from their native country in order to invade England. He put his kingdom in a good poſture of defence, by fortifying the towns of Cheſter, Eddeſbury, Warwick, Cherbury, Buckingham, Towceſter, Maldon, Huntingdon, and Colcheſter. He vanquiſhed Thurketill a Daniſh chieftain, and obliged him to retire with his followers into France. He ſubdued the Eaſt Anglians, Northumbrians, and ſeveral tribes of the Britons; and even obliged the Scots to make ſubmiſſions. He died in 925, and was ſucceeded by Athelſtan his natural ſon.

This prince, notwithſtanding his illegitimate birth, aſcended the throne without much oppoſition, as the legitimate children of Edward were too young to rule a nation ſo much liable both to foreign invaſions and domeſtic troubles as England then was. One Alfred, however, a nobleman of conſiderable power, entered into a conſpiracy againſt him. It is ſaid that this nobleman

bleman was seized upon strong suspicions, but without any certain proof. He offered to swear to his innocence before the pope; and in those ages it was supposed that none could take a false oath in presence of such a sacred person without being visited by an immediate judgment from God. Alfred was accordingly conducted to Rome, and took the oath required of him before pope John. The words were no sooner pronounced than he fell into convulsions, of which he expired in three days. The king, fully convinced of his guilt, confiscated his estate, and made a present of it to the monastery of Malmsbury.

This accident proved the means of establishing the authority of Athelstan in England. But, finding the Northumbrians bore the English yoke with impatience, he gave Sithric, a Danish nobleman, the title of king of Northumberland; and, in order to secure his friendship, gave him his own sister Editha in marriage. This was productive of bad consequences. Sithric died the year after his marriage with Editha; upon which Anlaf and Godfrid, Sithric's sons by a former marriage, assumed the sovereignty without waiting for Athelstan's consent. They were, however, soon obliged to yield to the superior power of that monarch. The former fled to Ireland, and the latter to Scotland, where he was protected by Constantine king of that country. The Scottish monarch was continually importuned by Athelstan to deliver up his guest, and even threatened with an invasion in case he did not comply. Constantine, detesting this treachery, advised Godfrid to make his escape. He did so, turned pirate, and died soon after. Athelstan, however, resenting this conduct of Constantine, invaded his kingdom, and reduced him so low, that he was obliged to make the most humble submissions.

Constantine, after the departure of Athelstan, entered into a confederacy with Anlaf who subsisted by his piracies, and with some of the Welsh princes who were alarmed

alarmed at the increaſe of Athelſtan's power. All theſe confederates made an irruption into England at once; but Athelſtan, meeting them at Brumſbury in Northumberland, gave them a total overthrow. Anlaf and Conſtantine made their eſcape with difficulty, leaving the greateſt part of their men dead on the field of battle. About this time, Athelſtan paſſed a remarkable law for the encouragement of commerce; viz. that a merchant who had made three long ſea-voyages on his own account ſhould be admitted to the rank of a thane, or gentleman.

Athelſtan, after he had defeated the Welſh, obliged Ludwal, the greateſt of their kings, to pay the following annual tribute, viz. twenty pounds weight of gold, three hundred weight of ſilver, twenty-five thouſand oxen, and whatever hounds and hawks he ſhould demand. He marched afterwards againſt the weſtern Britons, many of whom, it is ſaid, ſtill remained in Exeter, and other parts of Devonſhire, and enjoyed eſtates and poſſeſſions promiſcuouſly with the Engliſh; theſe he obliged to retire into Cornwall, making the river Tamar their boundary.

This king, having ſubdued his enemies, ſpent the laſt part of his reign in cultivating the arts of peace, reviſing the laws, and regulating the courts of juſtice. And, having governed with great applauſe fifteen years, and upwards, died at Glouceſter, and was buried at Malmſbury. It was in this reign that Guy of Warwick is ſaid to have engaged the Daniſh giant Colebrand, and killed him.

Athelſtan was ſucceeded by his brother Edmund. On his acceſſion he found the kingdom diſturbed by the reſtleſs Northumbrians, who watched for every opportunity of riſing in rebellion. They were, however, ſoon reduced; and Edmund took care to enſure the peace of the kingdom, by removing the Danes from the towns of Mercia where they had been allowed to ſettle, becauſe it is found that they took

every opportunity to introduce foreign Danes into the kingdom. He alſo conquered Cumberland from the Britons. This county he beſtowed upon Malcolm king of Scotland, upon condition that he ſhould do homage for it, and protect the north of England from all future incurſions of the Danes.

Edmund was unfortunately murdered in Gloceſter, by one Leolf a notorious robber. This man had been formerly ſentenced to baniſhment; yet had the boldneſs to enter the hall where the king himſelf dined, and to ſit at table with his attendants. Edmund immediately ordered him to leave the room. The villian refuſed to obey; upon which the king leaped upon him, and ſeized him by the hair. Leolf then drew a dagger, and gave the king a wound, of which he inſtantly died, A. D. 946, being the ſixth year of his reign.

As the children of Edmund were too young at the time of his deceaſe, his brother Edred ſucceeded to the throne. The beginning of his reign, as well as thoſe of his predeceſſors, was diſturbed by the rebellions and incurſions of the Northumbrian Danes, who looked upon the ſucceſſion of every new king to be a favourable opportunity for ſhaking off the Engliſh yoke. On the appearance of Edred with an army, however, they immediately ſubmitted; but, before the king withdrew his forces, he laid waſte their territories as a puniſhment for their offence. He was no ſooner gone, than they roſe in rebellion a ſecond time. They were again ſubdued; and the king took effectual precautions againſt their future revolts, by placing Engliſh garriſons in all their towns, and appointing an Engliſh governor to watch their motions, and ſuppreſs their inſurrections on the firſt appearance. In the reign of Edred, celibacy of the clergy began to be preached up under the patronage of St. Dunſtan. This man had obtained ſuch an aſcendant over Edred, who was naturally ſuperſtitious,

that he not only directed him in affairs of conscience, but in the most important matters of state. He was placed at the head of the treasury; and, being thus possessed of great power at court, he was enabled to accomplish the most arduous undertakings. He professed himself a partisan of the rigid monastic rules; and, having introduced celibacy among the monks of Glastonbury and Abingdon, he endeavoured to render it universal among the clergy throughout the kingdom. The monks in a short time generally embraced the pretended reformation; after which they inveighed bitterly against the vices and luxury of the age. When other topics of defamation were wanting, the marriages of clergymen became a sure object of invective. Their wives received the appellation of concubines or some other more opprobrious name. The secular clergy, on the other hand, who were numerous and rich, defended themselves with vigour, and endeavored to retaliate upon their adversaries. The people were thrown into the most violent ferments; but the monks, being patronised by king Edred, gained ground greatly upon their opponents. Their progress, however, was somewhat retarded by the king's death, which happened in 955, after a reign of nine years. He left children; but, as they were infants, his nephew Edwy, son to Edmund, was placed on the throne.

The new king was not above sixteen or seventeen years of age at the time of his accession. His reign is only remarkable for the tragicial story of his queen Elgiva. She was a princess of the royal blood, with whom Edwy was deeply enamoured. She was his second or third cousin, and therefore within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the canon law. Edwy, however, hearkening only to the dictates of his passion, married her, contrary to the advice of the more dignified ecclesiastics. The monks on this occasion were particularly violent; and therefore Edwy determined

termined not to second their ambitious projects. He soon found reason to repent his having provoked such dangerous enemies. On his coronation day, while his nobility were indulging themselves in riotous mirth in a great hall where they were assembled, Edwy withdrew to another apartment to enjoy the company of his beloved queen and her mother. Dunstan guessed the reason of his absence. With unparalleled impudence, he burst into the queen's apartment; and, upbraiding Edwy with his lasciviousness, as he termed it, pushed him back to the hall where the nobles were assembled. The king determined to resent such a daring insult. He required from Dunstan an account of his administration of the treasury during the late reign. The monk, probably unable to give a just account, refused to give any; upon which Edwy accused him of malversation in his office, and banished him the kingdom.

This proved the worst step that possibly could have been taken. Dunstan was no sooner gone than the whole nation was in an uproar about his sanctity and the king's impiety. These clamours as they had been begun by the clergy, so they were kept up and increased by them, till at last they proceeded to the most outrageous violence. Archbishop Odo sent a party of soldiers to the palace. They seized the queen, and burned her face with a red-hot iron, in order to destroy her beauty by which she had enticed her husband; after which they carried her by force into Ireland, there to remain in perpetual exile. The king, finding it in vain to resist, was obliged to consent to a divorce from her, which was pronounced by archbishop Odo. A catastrophe still more dismal awaited Elgiva. She had been cured of her wounds, and had even found means to efface the scars with which her persecutors had hoped to destroy her beauty. She then came to England, with a design to return to the king, whom she still considered as her husband. Unfortunately,

however, ſhe was intercepted by a party of ſoldiers ſent for that purpoſe by the primate. Nothing but her moſt cruel death could now ſatisfy that wretch and his accomplices. She was hamſtringed at Glouceſter, and expired in a few days.

The minds of the Engliſh were at this time ſo much ſunk in ſuperſtition, that the monſtrous inhumanity above mentioned was called a judgment from God upon Edwy and his ſpouſe for their diſſolute life, i. e. their love to each other. They even proceeded to rebellion againſt their ſovereign; and, having raiſed to the throne Edgar, the youngeſt brother of Edwy, at that time only thirteen years of age, they ſoon put him in poſſeſſion of Mercia, Northumberland, and Eaſt Anglia. Edwy being thus confined to the ſouthern counties, Dunſtan returned, and took upon him the government of Edgar and his party; but the death of Edwy ſoon removed all difficulties, and gave Edgar peaceable poſſeſſion of the government.

The reign of Edgar proved one of the moſt fortunate mentioned in the ancient Engliſh hiſtory. He took the moſt effectual methods both for preventing tumults at home and invaſions from abroad. He quartered a body of diſciplined troops in the north, in order to repel the incurſions of the Scots, and to keep the Northumbrians in awe. He built a powerful navy; and, that he might keep the ſeamen in the practice of their duty, as well as preſent a formidable armament to his enemies, he commanded the fleet from time to time to make the circuit of his dominions. For this purpoſe he equipped three, ſome ſay four, large fleets, conſiſting of twelve hundred ſail each, of what burthen, hiſtory does not inform us; it is probable that they were galleys, rowed with oars, of no very great bulk, it being impoſſible, at that time of day, to have manned ſo many large ſhips with mariners; and they ſeem to have been made, like thoſe of their enemies the Danes, only for

for ſummer expeditions; for in winter they rarely put to ſea. But ſoon after Eaſter, every year, theſe fleets were commanded to their reſpective rendezvous; one to the eaſtward not far from the Thames' mouth, another in the weſt, a third in the Iriſh channel, and the fourth in the German ocean: and this king frequently ſailed in perſon in each of theſe fleets as far as he had appointed them to cruize; and, going from one to the other, ſurrounded the whole iſland in the ſailing ſeaſon. So extenſive was his dominion, it is ſaid, that not only the Scotch and Welſh were ſubject to him, but great part of Ireland alſo; and that no prince before him ever deſerved ſo juſtly the ſtile of king of Great Britain. He had at once, we are told, no leſs than eight vaſſal kings at his court, namely, Kened king of Scotland, Malcolm king of Cumberland, Macquire king of the Iſles, and five kings of Wales, viz. Duſval, Griffith, Huwald, Jacob, and Judehil; who being all at once in his court, at Cheſter, he cauſed himſelf, it is ſaid, to be rowed by theſe eight kings in a barge on the river Dee, while he ſteered the veſſel himſelf; and ſaid he would not have his ſucceſſors look upon themſelves to be kings of England, till they ſhould be thus attended by as many vaſſal kings.

The greatneſs of king Edgar, which is very much celebrated by the Engliſh hiſtorians, was owing to the harmony which reigned between him and his ſubjects; and the reaſon of this good agreement was, that the king ſided with Dunſtan and the monks, who had acquired a great aſcendant over the people. He enabled them to accompliſh their favourite ſcheme of diſpoſſeſſing the ſecular canons of all the monaſteries; and he conſulted them not only in eccleſiaſtical, but alſo in civil, affairs. On theſe accounts, he is celebrated by the monkiſh writers with the higheſt praiſes; though it is plain, from ſome of his actions, that he was a man who could be bound neither by the ties of religion

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nor humanity. He broke into a convent, and carried off by force, and raviſhed, a nun called Editha. His ſpiritual inſtructor, Dunſtan, for this offence, obliged the king, not to ſeparate from his miſtreſs, but to abſtain from wearing his crown for ſeven years!

Edgar, however, was not to be ſatisfied with one miſtreſs. He happened once to lodge at the houſe of a nobleman who had a very beautiful daughter. Edgar, enflamed with deſire at the ſight of the young lady, without ceremony aſked her mother to allow her to paſs a night with him. She promiſed compliance; but ſecretly ordered a waiting-maid, named Elfleda, to ſteal into the king's bed when the company were gone, and to retire before day-break. Edgar, however, detained her by force, till day-light diſcovered the deceit. His love was now transferred to the waiting-maid; who became his favourite miſtreſs, and maintained a great aſcendant over him till his marriage with Elfrida.

The circumſtances of this marriage were ſtill more ſingular and criminal than thoſe above-mentioned. Elfrida was daughter and heireſs of Olgar earl of Devonſhire. She was a perſon of ſuch exquiſite beauty, that her fame was ſpread all over England, though ſhe had never been at court. Edgar's curioſity was excited by the accounts he had heard of her, and therefore he formed a deſign of marrying her. He communicated his intentions to earl Athelwold, his favourite, and ordered him, on ſome pretence or other, to viſit the earl of Devonſhire, and bring him a certain account concerning Elfrida. Athelwold went as he was deſired; but fell ſo deeply in love with the lady himſelf, that he reſolved to ſacrifice his fidelity to his paſſion. He returned to Edgar, and told him, that Elfrida's charms were by no means extraordinary, and would have been totally overlooked in a woman of inferior ſtation. After ſome time, turning the converſation again upon Elfrida, he told the king that he thought

thought her parentage and fortune made her a very advantageous match; and therefore, if the king gave his consent, he would make propoſals to the earl of Devonſhire on his own behalf. Edgar conſented, and Athelwold was married to Elfrida. After his marriage, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to keep his wife from court, that Edgar might have no opportunity of obſerving her beauty. The king, however, was ſoon informed of the truth; and told Athelwold that he intended to pay him a viſit in his caſtle, and be made acquainted with his new-married wife. The earl could make no objection; only he deſired a few hours to prepare for the viſit. He then confeſſed the whole to Elfrida, and begged of her to appear before the king as much to the diſadvantage as poſſible. Inſtead of this, ſhe dreſſed herſelf to the greateſt advantage. Edgar immediately conceived a violent paſſion for her; and, in order to gratify it, ſeduced Athelwold into a wood under a pretence of hunting, where he ſtabbed him with his own hands, and afterwards married his widow.

Edgar is celebrated among hiſtorians for the encouragement he gave to foreigners to reſide at his court and throughout the kingdom. Theſe foreigners, it is ſaid, corrupted the former ſimple manners of the nation. Of this ſimplicity, however, there ſeems to be no great reaſon to boaſt; ſeeing it could not preſerve them from treachery and cruelty, the greateſt of all vices: ſo that their acquaintance with foreigners was certainly an advantage to the people, as it tended to enlarge their views, and cure them of thoſe illiberal prejudices and ruſtic manners to which iſlanders are often ſubject.---Another remarkable incident is the extirpation of wolves from England. The king took great pleaſure in hunting and deſtroying theſe animals himſelf. At laſt he found that they had all taken ſhelter in the mountains and foreſts of Wales. Upon this he changed the tribute impoſed upon the Welſh princes

princes by Athelſtan into an annual tribute of three hundred wolves heads; and this produced ſuch diligence in hunting them, that the animal has never ſince appeared in England.

Edgar died in 957, after a reign of ſixteen years. He left a ſon named Edward, whom he had by his firſt wife the daughter of Earl Ordmer; and another, named Ethelred, by Elfrida. The mental qualifications of this lady were by no means anſwerable to the beauty of her perſon. She was ambitious, haughty, treacherous, and cruel. The principal nobility, therefore, were greatly averſe from the ſucceſſion of her ſon Ethelred, which would unavoidably throw too much power into the hands of his mother, as he himſelf was only ſeven years of age. Edward, afterwards ſurnamed the Martyr, was therefore pitched upon; and was certainly the moſt proper perſon, as he was fifteen years of age, and might ſoon be able to take the government into his own hands. Elfrida oppoſed his advancement with all her might: but Dunſtan overcame every obſtacle, by anointing and crowning the young prince at Kingſton; upon which the whole kingdom ſubmitted without farther oppoſition.

The only remarkable occurrence in this reign was the complete victory gained by the monks over the ſecular clergy, who were now totally expelled from the convents. Though this had been pretty nearly accompliſhed by Edgar, the ſecular clergy ſtill had partiſans in England who made conſiderable oppoſition; but theſe were all ſilenced by the following miracles. In one ſynod, Dunſtan, finding the majority of votes againſt him, roſe up, and declared that he had that inſtant received from heaven a revelation in favour of the monks. The whole aſſembly was ſo much overawed by this intelligence, that they proceeded no farther in their deliberations. In another ſynod, a voice iſſued out of the crucifix, acquainting the members, that the eſtabliſhment of the monks

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was founded on the will of heaven, and could not be oppoſed without impiety. But the third miracle was ſtill more alarming. In another ſynod the floor of the hall ſunk, and great numbers of the members were killed or bruiſed by their fall. It was remarked that Dunſtan had that day prevented the king from attending the ſynod, and that the beam on which his own chair ſtood was the only one which did not ſink. Theſe circumſtances, inſtead of making him ſuſpected as the author of the miracle, were regarded as proofs of the interpoſition of Providence in his favour.

Edward lived four years after he was raiſed to the throne, in perfect innocence and ſimplicity. Being incapable of any treacherous intention himſelf, he ſuſpected none in others. Though his ſtep-mother had oppoſed his ſucceſſion, yet he always behaved towards her with the greateſt reſpect, and expreſſed on all occaſions the moſt tender affection for his brother Ethelred. Being one day hunting in the neighbourhood of the caſtle where Elfrida reſided, he paid her a viſit unattended by any of his retinue. After remounting his horſe with a deſign to return, he deſired ſome liquor to be brought him; but, while he was holding the cup to his mouth, a ſervant of Elfrida ſtabbed him behind. The king, finding himſelf wounded, clapped ſpurs to his horſe; but ſoon becoming faint by the loſs of blood, he fell from the ſaddle, and, his foot being entangled in the ſtirrup, he was dragged along till he expired. His body was found and privately interred at Wereham by his ſervants. The Engliſh had ſuch compaſſion for this amiable prince, that they beſtowed on him the appellation of Martyr, and even fancied that miracles were wrought at his tomb. Elfrida built monaſteries, and ſubmitted to many penances, in order to atone for her guilt; but, even in that barbarous age, ſhe could never regain the good opinion of the public.

After the murder of Edward, his brother Ethelred ſucceeded to the throne without oppoſition. As he was a minor when he was raiſed to the throne, and, even when he came to man's eſtate, never diſcovered any vigour or capacity of defending the kingdom againſt invaders, the Danes began to renew their incurſions. Before they durſt attempt any thing of importance, however, they firſt made a ſmall incurſion by way of trial. In the year 981, they landed in Southampton from ſeven veſſels; and, having ravaged the country, they retired with impunity, carrying a great booty along with them. In 987, they made a ſimilar attempt on the weſt coaſt, and were attended with the like ſucceſs. Finding that matters were now in a favourable ſituation for their enterpriſes, they landed in Eſſex under the command of two chieftains; and, having defeated and killed Brithnot duke of that country, laid waſte all the neighbouring provinces. In this extremity, Ethelred, ſurnamed, on account of his prepoſterous conduct, the Unready, bribed the enemy with 10,000l. to depart the kingdom, which conſtituted the firſt tax ever laid upon the people of England, and was levied on the ſubject by the name of *Dane-gelt*. This advice was given by Siricius archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſome of the degenerate nobility; and was attended with conſequences that might have been expected. The Danes appeared next year off the eaſtern coaſt. But, in the mean time, the Engliſh had determined to aſſemble at London a fleet capable of repulſing the enemy. This failed of ſucceſs through the treachery of Alfric duke of Mercia. Having been formerly baniſhed the kingdom, and found great difficulty in getting himſelf reſtored to his former dignity, he truſted thenceforth, not to his ſervices or the affections of his countrymen, but to the influence he had over his vaſſals, and to the public calamities. Theſe laſt he deter-

determined always to promote as far as he could: because in every revolution his assistance would be necessary, and consequently he must receive a continual accession of power. The English had formed a plan for surrounding and destroying the Danish fleet in the harbour; but Alfric not only gave the enemy notice of this design, but also deserted with his squadron the night before the engagement. The English by this means proved unsuccessful; and Ethelred in revenge, took Alsgar, Alfric's son, and ordered his eyes to be put out. This piece of cruelty could be productive of no good effect. Alfric had become so powerful, that, notwithstanding his treachery, it was found impossible to deprive him of the government of Mercia.

In 993, the Danes under the command of Sweyn their king, and the Norwegians conducted by Olave king of that country, sailed up the Humber, and destroyed all around them. A powerful army was assembled to oppose these invaders; but, through the treachery of the three leaders, all men of Danish extraction, the English were totally defeated. Encouraged by this success, the Danes entered the Thames in ninety-four vessels, and laid siege to London. The inhabitants, however, made such a brave defence, that the besiegers were finally obliged to give over the attempt. Out of revenge for this disappointment, they laid waste Essex, Sussex, and Hampshire. In these counties they procured horses; by which means they were enabled to penetrate into the more inland parts, and threatened the kingdom with total subjection. Ethelred and his nobles had now recourse to their former expedient. They sent ambassadors to the two northern kings, to whom they promised subsistence and tribute, provided they would, for the present, put an end to their ravages, and soon after depart the kingdom. They agreed to the terms, and peaceably took up their quarters at Southampton. Olave even paid a visit to Ethelred, and received the

rite of confirmation from the Engliſh biſhops. The king alſo made him many preſents; and Olave promiſed never more to infeſt the Engliſh territories; which promiſe it is ſaid he afterwards religiouſly obſerved.

After the departure of Olave with his Norwegians, Sweyn, though leſs ſcrupulous than the king of Norway, was obliged to leave the kingdom alſo. But this ſhameful compoſition procured only a ſhort relief to the nation. The Danes ſoon after appeared in the Severn; and, having ravaged Wales as well as Cornwall and Devon, they ſailed round, and, entering the mouth of the Tamar, completed the ruin of theſe two counties. Then returning to the Briſtol channel, and penetrating into the country by the Avon, they over-ran all that country, and carried fire and ſword even into Dorſetſhire. In 998, they changed the ſeat of war; and, after ravaging the Iſle of Wight, they entered the Thames and Medway, where they laid ſiege to Rocheſter, and defeated the Kentiſh men in a great battle. After this victory the whole province of Kent was made a ſcene of ſlaughter and devaſtation. The extremity of theſe miſeries forced the Engliſh into counſels for common defence both by ſea and land; but the weakneſs of the king, the diviſions among the nobility, the treachery of ſome, the cowardice of others, the want of concert in all, fruſtrated every endeavour; and their fleets and armies either came too late to attack the enemy, or were repulſed with diſhonour. The Engliſh, therefore, devoid both of prudence and unanimity in council, had recourſe to the expedient which by experience they had found to be ineffectual. They offered the Danes a large ſum if they would conclude a peace and depart the kingdom. Theſe ravagers continually roſe in their demands; and now required the payment of 24,000l. which the Engliſh ſubmitted to give. The departure of the Danes procured them a temporary relief; which

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they enjoyed as if it were to be perpetual, without making any effectual preparations for giving them a more vigorous reception upon their next return.

Beſides the receiving this ſum, the Danes were at preſent engaged by another motive to depart from England. They were invited over by their countrymen in Normandy, who at this time were hard preſſed by Robert king of France, and who found it difficult to defend their ſettlements againſt him. It is probable alſo, that Ethelred, obſerving the cloſe connection of all the Danes with one another, however they might be divided in government or ſituation, was deſirous of procuring an alliance with that formidable people. For this purpoſe, being at preſent a widower, he made his addreſſes to Emma, ſiſter to Richard II. Duke of Normandy. He ſoon ſucceeded in his negociations; the princeſs came over to England, and was married to the king in the year 1001.

Though the Danes had been for a long time eſtabliſhed in England, and though the ſimilarity of their language with the Saxon had invited them to an early coalition with the natives; they had as yet found ſo little example of civilized manners among the Engliſh, that they retained all their ancient ferocity, and valued themſelves only on their national character of military bravery. The Engliſh princes had been ſo well acquainted with their ſuperiority in this reſpect, that Athelſtan and Edgar had been accuſtomed to keep in pay large bodies of Daniſh troops, who were quartered about the country, and committed many violences upon the inhabitants. Theſe mercenaries had attained to ſuch an height in luxury, according to the old Engliſh writers, that they combed their hair once a-day, bathed themſelves once a-week, changed their clothes frequently; and by all theſe arts of effeminacy, as well as by their military character, had rendered themſelves ſo agreeable to their fair ſex, that they debauched the wives and daughters of the Engliſh,

gliſh, and had diſhonoured many families. But what moſt provoked the inhabitants was, that, inſtead of defending them againſt invaders, they were always ready to betray them to the foreign Danes, and to aſſociate themſelves with every ſtraggling party which came from that nation.

The animoſities between the native Engliſh and the Danes who inhabited among them had from theſe cauſes riſen to a great height; when Ethelred, from a policy commonly adopted by weak princes, took the cruel reſolution of maſſacring all the Danes throughout the kingdom. On the 13th of November 1002, ſecret orders were diſpatched to commence the execution every where on the ſame day; and the feſtival of St. Brice, which fell on a Sunday, the day on which the Danes uſually bathed themſelves, was choſen for this purpoſe. Theſe cruel orders were executed with the utmoſt exactneſs. No diſtinction was made betwixt the innocent and the guilty; neither ſex nor age was ſpared; nor were the cruel executioners ſatisfied without the tortures, as well as death, of the unhappy victims. Even Gunilda, ſiſter to the king of Denmark, who had married Earl Paling, and had embraced Chriſtianity, was by the advice of Edric, Earl of Wilts, ſeized and condemned to death by Ethelred, after ſeeing her huſband and children butchered before her face. This unhappy princeſs foretold, in the agonies of deſpair, that her murder would ſoon be avenged by the total ruin of the Engliſh nation*.

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* On the ſubject of this maſſacre, Mr. Hume has the following obſervations: "Almoſt all the ancient hiſtorians ſpeak of this maſſacre of the Danes as if it had been univerſal, and as if every individual of that nation throughout England had been put to death. But the Danes were almoſt the ſole inhabitants in the kingdoms of Northumberland and Eaſt Anglia, and were very numerous in Mercia. This repreſentation of the matter was abſolutely impoſſible. Great reſiſtance muſt have been made, and violent wars enſued; which was not the caſe. The account given by Wallingford, though he ſtands ſingle, muſt be admitted as the only true one. We are told that the name of *Lordane, lord Dane*, for an idle lazy fellow who lives at other people's expence,

The prophecy of Gunilda was exactly fulfilled. In 1003, Sweyn and his Danes, who wanted only a pretence to renew their invaſions, appeared off the weſtern coaſt, and threatened revenge for the ſlaughter of their countrymen. The Engliſh took meaſures for repulſing the enemy; but theſe were defeated through the treachery firſt of Alfric; and then of Edric, a ſtill greater traitor, who had married the king's daughter, and ſucceeded Alfric in the command of the Britiſh armies. The Danes therefore ravaged the whole country. Agriculture was neglected, a famine enſued, and the kingdom was reduced to the utmoſt degree of miſery. At laſt the infamous expedient of buying a peace was again recurred to; and the departure of the Danes was purchaſed, in 1007, at the expence of 30,000l.

The Engliſh endeavoured to employ this interval in making preparations againſt the return of the Danes, which they had reaſon ſoon to expect. A law was made, ordering the proprietors of eight hides of land to provide themſelves of a horſeman and a complete ſuit of armour; and thoſe of 310 hides to equip a ſhip for the defence of the kingdom. By theſe means a formidable armament was raiſed. There were 243,600 hides in England; conſequently the ſhips equipped were 785; which were ordered to a general rendezvous at Sandwich. The cavalry was 30,450 men. All hopes of ſucceſs from this equipment, however, were diſappointed by the factions, animoſities, and diſſentions, of the commanders. Edric had cauſed his brother Brightric to advance an accuſation of treaſon againſt Wolfnorth governor of Suſſex, the father of the famous Earl Godwin; and that nobleman, knowing the power and

expence, came from the conduct of the Danes who were put to death. But the Engliſh princes had been entirely maſters for ſeveral generations; and only ſupported a military corps of that nation. It ſeems probable, therefore, that theſe Danes only were put to death."

malice

malice of his enemy, consulted his own safety by deserting with twenty ships to the Danes. Brightric pursued him with a fleet of eighty sail; but his ships being shattered in a tempest, and stranded on the coast, he was suddenly attacked by Wolfnorth, and all his vessels were burnt or otherwise destroyed. The treachery of Edric frustrated every plan of future defence; and the whole navy was at last scattered into the several harbours.

By these fatal miscarriages, the enemy had leisure to over-run the whole kingdom. They had now got such a footing, indeed, that they could hardly have been expelled though the nation had been ever so unanimous. But so far did mutual diffidence and dissention prevail, that the governors of one province refused to march to the assistance of another; and were at last terrified from assembling their forces for the defence of their own. At last the usual expedient was tried. A peace was bought with 48,000l. but this did not procure even the usual temporary relief. The Danes, knowing that they were now masters of the kingdom, took the money, but continued their devastations. They levied a new contribution of 8000l. on the county of Kent alone; murdered the archbishop of Canterbury, who had refused to countenance this exaction; and the English nobility submitted every where to the Danish monarch, swearing allegiance to him, and giving hostages for their good behaviour. At last, Ethelred himself, dreading equally the violence of the enemy and the treachery of his own subjects, fled into Normandy, whither he had already sent queen Emma and her two sons Alfred and Edward. The duke received his unhappy guests with a generosity which does honour to his memory.

The flight of king Ethelred happened in the end of the year 1013. He had not been above six weeks in Normandy, when he heard of the death of Sweyn, when happened at Gainsborough before he had time

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to eſtabliſh himſelf in his new dominions. At the ſame time he received an invitation from the prelates and nobility to reſume the kingdom; expreſſing alſo their hopes, that, being now better taught by experience, he would avoid thoſe errors which had been ſo fatal to himſelf and his people. But the miſconduct of Ethelred was incurable; and, on reſuming the government, he behaved in the very ſame manner that he had done before. His ſon-in-law Edric, notwithſtanding his repeated treaſons, retained ſuch influence at court, that he inſtilled into the king jealouſies of Sigefert and Morcar, two of the chief nobles of Mercia. Edric enticed them into his houſe, where he murdered them; while Ethelred partook of the infamy of this action, by confiſcating their eſtates, and confining the widow of Sigefert in a convent. She was a woman of ſingular beauty and merit; and in a viſit which was paid her, during her confinement, by prince Edmund the king's eldeſt ſon, ſhe inſpired him with ſo violent an affection, that he releaſed her from the convent, and ſoon after married her without his father's conſent.

In the mean time, Canute, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Sweyn, proved an enemy no leſs terrible to the Engliſh than his father had been. He ravaged the eaſtern coaſt with mercileſs fury; and put aſhore all the Engliſh hoſtages at Sandwich, after having cut off their hands and noſes. He was at laſt obliged, by the neceſſity of his affairs, to return to Denmark. In a ſhort time, however, he came again, and continued his depredations along the ſouthern coaſt. He then broke into the counties of Dorſet, Wilts, and Somerſet; where an army was aſſembled againſt him under the command of prince Edmund and Duke Edric. The latter ſtill continued his perfidious machinations; and, after endeavouring in vain to get the prince into his power, found means to diſſipate the army, and then deſerted to Canute with 40 veſſels.

Edmund was not disheartened by this treachery. He again assembled his forces, and was in a condition to give the enemy battle. Ethelred, however, had now such frequent experience of the treachery of his subjects, that he had lost all confidence in them. He remained in London pretending sickness, but in reality from an apprehension that they intended to buy their peace by delivering him into the hands of his enemies. The army called aloud for their sovereign to march at their head against the Danes; and, on his refusal to take the field, they were so discouraged, that all the preparations which had been made became ineffectual for the defence of the kingdom. Edmund, deprived of all regular resources for the maintenance of the soldiers, was obliged to commit similar ravages to those practised by the Danes; and after making some fruitless expeditions into the north, which had submitted entirely to Canute's power, he returned to London, where he found every thing in confusion by the death of the king.

Ethelred died in 1016, and was buried in St. Paul's, London, after an unhappy reign of thirty-five years; and was succeeded by his son Edmund surnamed Ironside, on account of his great strength and valour. He possessed abilities sufficient to have saved his country from ruin, had he come sooner to the throne; but it was now too late. He was the third but eldest surviving son of his father Ethelred, by his first wife; but the Danish interest was now so great, or their power so dreaded by the clergy and nobility, that, being summoned to attend Canute at Southampton, they swore allegiance to him, and, it is said, abjured the issue of the late king Ethelred. Canute, hereupon, set sail with his fleet for the Thames, about Whitsuntide, in order to reduce the city of London. King Edmund, on the other side, moved into the west of England, where his greatest interest lay, to raise forces to support his right to the crown; and

Canute,

Canute, attacking the city of London in his abſence, met with a ſevere repulſe. The Dane afterwards marched in perſon towards the weſt, and detached a conſiderable body of forces to meet his rival, and engage him before he ſhould have formed his troops; and the two armies engaged at Pen, near Gillingham, in Somerſetſhire, where Edmund had the advantage. However, another battle was fought between them about Midſummer, at Sceorſtan, or Shecſton, in Wiltſhire, or according to others, at Shireſtones, on the borders of Oxfordſhire, which would have been fatal to the Danes, if duke Edric and ſome other noblemen, with their forces, had not deſerted over to the Danes; but king Edmund notwithſtanding maintained his ground, till night put an end to the engagement.

Canute a ſecond time marched towards London, and laid ſiege to it, while king Edmund was recruiting his forces in the weſt, but the king arrived ſoon enough to relieve the city: he afterwards engaged the Danes near Brentford, and defeated them. Duke Edric, obſerving the ſucceſs of the king's affairs, found means to reconcile himſelf to him again, whom this good-natured prince, contrary to all good policy, was pleaſed to reſtore to his command in the army, of which he ſoon after found the ill effects; for, having gained an advantage of the enemy, the traitor prevented the purſuit, when in all probability Edmund would have driven his rival out of the kingdom. And at another battle at Aſhdown, or rather Aſſington, in Eſſex, where both parties had aſſembled their whole forces, and the Engliſh had every reaſon to expect a victory, the ſame treacherous Edric went over to Canute with the forces under his command, whereby he changed the fortune of the day, and the Engliſh received the greateſt defeat they had known for many years. Four dukes, namely, Alfred, Godwin, Ulfketel, and Ethelwald, were killed in the field of battle, with many others of the nobility and clergy. King

Edmund, however, did not yet deſpair of ſucceſs, but, aſſembling another army, was about to offer battle again to the Danes, when Edric propoſed a diviſion of the kingdom between the two rivals, which was agreed to, the weſtern part being aſſigned to Edmund, the reſt to Canute. The king ſurvived this treaty but a very little while, being murdered at Oxford by two of his chamberlains, accomplices of Edric. He left iſſue two ſons, Edwin and Edward, and two daughters, Margaret and Chriſtain.

Of the British Wars from Canute the Dane to William the Conqueror.

AFTER the death of Edmund, nothing was left for the Engliſh but ſubmiſſion to Canute. The leaſt ſcrupulous of mankind, however, dare not at all times openly commit injuſtice. Canute, therefore, before he ſeized the dominions of Edwin and Edward, the two ſons of Edmund, ſuborned ſome of the nobility to depoſe, that, in the laſt treaty with Edmund, it had been verbally agreed, that, in caſe of Edmund's death, Canute ſhould be either ſucceſſor to his dominions, or tutor to his children; for hiſtorians differ with regard to this particular. This evidence, ſupported by the great power of Canute, was ſufficient to get him elected king of England. Immediately after his acceſſion to the throne, he ſent the two ſons of Edmund to the court of Sweden, on pretence of being there educated; but charged the king to put them to death as ſoon as they arrived. The Swediſh monarch did not comply with this requeſt; but ſent them to Solomon king of Hungary, to be educated in his court. The elder, Edwin, was afterwards married to Solomon's ſiſter: but, he dying without iſſue, that prince gave his ſiſter-in-law Agatha, daughter of the emperor Henry II. in marriage to Edward, the younger brother; and ſhe

ſhe bore him Edgar Atheling; Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotlnad; and Chriſtiana, who retired into a convent.

Canute was obliged at firſt to make great conceſſions to the nobility: but he afterwards put to death many of thoſe in whom he could put no confidence; and, among the reſt, the traitor Edric himſelf, who was publicly executed, and his body thrown into the Thames. In order to prevent any danger from the Normans, who had threatened him with an invaſion, he married Emma the widow of Ethelred, and who now came over from Normandy; promiſing that he would leave the children he ſhould have by that marriage heirs to the crown after his deceaſe. The Engliſh were at firſt diſpleaſed with Emma for marrying the mortal enemy of her former huſband; but at the ſame time were glad to find at court a ſovereign to whom they were accuſtomed, and who had already formed connections with them: and thus Canute, beſides ſecuring by his marriage the alliance with Normandy, gradually acquired by the ſame means the confidence of his own people.

Having ſettled his power in England, he made a voyage to his other kingdom of Denmark, in order to reſiſt the attacks of the king of Sweden; and he carried along with him a great body of the Engliſh under the command of the earl Godwin. This nobleman had here an opportunity of performing a ſervice by which he both reconciled the king's mind to the Engliſh nation, and, gaining to himſelf the friendſhip of his ſovereign, laid the foundation of that immenſe fortune which he acquired to his family. He was ſtationed next the Swediſh camp; and, obſerving a favourable opportunity, he attacked the enemy in the night, drove them ſuddenly from their trenches, threw them into diſorder, purſued his advantage, and obtained a deciſive victory over them. Next morning Canute, ſeeing the Engliſh camp entirely abandoned, imagined

gined that these disaffected troops had deserted to the enemy; and he was agreeably surprised to find that they were at that time engaged in the pursuit of the discomfited Swedes. He was so pleased with this success, and the manner of obtaining it, that he bestowed his daughter in marriage upon Godwin, and treated him ever after with the most entire confidence and regard.

In another voyage which he afterwards made to Denmark, Canute attacked Norway, and expelled the just but unwarlike Olaus from his kingdom, of which he kept possession till the death of that prince. He had now by his conquests and valour attained the utmost height of his ambition; and, having leisure from wars and intrigues, he felt the unsatisfactory nature of all human enjoyments; and, equally weary of the glory and turmoils of this life, he began to cast his view towards that future existence which it is so natural for the human mind, whether satisfied by prosperity or disgusted with adversity, to make the object of its attention. Unfortunately the spirit which prevailed in that age gave a wrong direction to his devotion: and, instead of making atonement to those whom he had formerly injured by his acts of violence, he entirely employed himself in those exercises of piety which the monks represented as most meritorious. He built and endowed monasteries; enriched ecclesiastics; and he bestowed revenues for the support of chantries at Assington, and other places, where he appointed prayers to be said for the souls of those who had there fallen in battle against him. He even undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, where he sojourned a considerable time; and, besides obtaining from the pope some privileges for the English school erected there, he engaged all the princes through whose dominions he was obliged to pass to desist from those heavy impositions and tolls which they were accustomed to exact from the English pilgrims. By this spirit of devotion, no less than by his equitable

equitable and politic adminiſtration, he gained in a great meaſure the affection of his ſubjects.

North Wales, at this time, was governed by Lewellyn; but an Iriſh impoſtor, or as ſome ſay, a Scot, of mean birth, named Reyn, pretended to be the ſon of Meredyth ap Owen, a deceaſed prince of Wales. The ſouthern Welſh ſo far favoured his pretenſions, that he ſoon was put at the head of a conſiderable army, not ſo much out of regard to him as out of hatred to the northern Welſh.

Lewellyn, having raiſed the forces of north Wales, advanced to Abergwilly, where Reyn lay, being determined to give him battle. This being accepted with equal ardour, they both encouraged their men; but Lewellyn, conſcious of the impoſtor's baſeneſs, and that his ſoul was as mean as his blood, rode in the front of both armies, and, calling out for Reyn, challenged him to ſingle combat. Reyn, appalled at his rival's courage, like a coward fled from the field. But, notwithſtanding the daſtardly behaviour of the impoſtor, the battle continued with great fury, till at laſt Lewellyn's great bravery overcame all oppoſition. The ſouthern Welſh were defeated; Reyn was purſued ſo cloſely, that he hardly eſcaped; Lewellyn got great booty, and the Welſh quietly ſubmitted to the government of this brave prince.

In the mean time Canute invaded Malcolm II. king of Scotland, with a large body of Danes, who landed at the mouth of the Spey, and, advancing into Murray, deſtroyed it with fire and ſword. Malcolm did every thing that became an able general; he drew together his army; laid before them the important intereſt they had at ſtake, and endeavoured to animate them to a vigorous reſiſtance. This rouſed his men, and ſo great was their fear of being thought cowards, that they became madmen, and attacked the Danes rather with frenzy than with courage, ſo that numbers of them were cut to pieces. The Danes, from their num-

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ber, experience, and bravery, were conquerors at firſt. Malcolm loſt the nobleſt of his generals, whilſt with great reſolution he poſted himſelf in a defile, through which the Danes were to purſue their victory, determined on that ſpot to ſell his life or ſecure the ſucceſs of the day. Here with his own hands he performed wonders; and one of the Daniſh generals, who thinking the victory certain had taken off his helmet, being killed, the report of which ſpreading inſtantly through the Scottiſh army, the moſt cowardly among them took courage, while that of the brave was redoubled, and Malcolm had now the glory to wreſt victory out of the hands of his enemy. The loſs of both parties was ſo great, that each ſtood on the defenſive the remaining part of the campaign; which, had it gone in favour of the Danes, muſt have opened a way to the entire conqueſt of Scotland. Canute, the next ſpring, ordered Camus, one of his generals, to invade Scotland with a ſtrong army, both of the veterans and new levies. But Malcolm acted with ſuch ſpirit and conduct, that Camus himſelf was killed, and his army cut to pieces. Canute now, putting himſelf at the head of another army, marched into Scotland, and after a bloody battle compelled Malcolm to ſue for peace, and in future to do homage for the county of Cumberland, which the Scots at that time poſſeſſed.

Canute, who was now the greateſt and moſt powerful prince of his time, ſovereign of Denmark and Norway as well as of England, could not fail to meet with adulation from his courtiers; a tribute which is liberally paid even to the meaneſt and weakeſt of princes. Some of his flatterers, breaking out one day in admiration of his grandeur, exclaimed, that every thing was poſſible for him: upon which the monarch, it is ſaid, ordered a chair to be ſet on the ſea-ſhore at Southampton, while the tide was making in; and, as the waters approached, he commanded them to retire, and to obey the voice of him who was lord of the ocean.

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He feigned to ſit ſome time in expectation of their ſubmiſſion; but, when the ſea ſtill advanced towards him, and began to waſh him with its billows, he turned to his courtiers, and remarked to them, That every creature in the univerſe was feeble and impotent, and that power reſided with one Being alone, in whoſe hands were all the elements of nature, who could ſay to the ocean, "Thus far ſhalt thou go, and no farther," and who could level with his nod the moſt towering piles of human pride and ambition. After this he paſſed four years in peace, and died at Shaftſbury in the 20th year of his reign, and was buried at Wincheſter, leaving three ſons, Sweyn, Harold, and Hardicanute. Sweyn, whom he had by his firſt marriage with Alfwen, daughter to the earl of Hampſhire, was crowned in Norway; Hardicanute, whom Emma had borne, was in poſſeſſion of Denmark; and Harold, who was of the ſame marriage with Sweyn, was at that time in England.

Harold ſucceeded to the crown of England; though it had been ſtipulated that Emma's ſon, Hardicanute, ſhould be heir to the kingdom. This advantage Harold obtained by being on the ſpot, and getting poſſeſſion of his father's treaſures, while Hardicanute was at a diſtance. As Hardicanute, however, was ſupported by earl Godwin, a civil war was likely to enſue, when a compromiſe was made, by which it was agreed that Harold ſhould enjoy London, and all the provinces north of the Thames, while the poſſeſſion of the ſouth ſhould remain to Hardicanute: and, till that prince ſhould appear and take poſſeſſion of his dominions, Emma fixed her reſidence at Wincheſter, and ruled her ſon's part. Harold reigned four years; during which time, the only memorable action he performed was a moſt infamous piece of treachery.---Alfred and Edward, the two ſons of Emma by Ethelred, paid a viſit to their mother in England. But, in the mean time, earl Godwin being gained over by Harold,

a plan was laid for the deſtruction of the two princes. Alfred was accordingly invited to London by Harold, with many profeſſions of friendſhip; but, when he had reached Guilford, he was ſet upon by Godwin's vaſſals: about 600 of his train were murdered in the moſt cruel manner; he himſelf was taken priſoner, his eyes were put out, and he was conducted to the monaſtery of Ely, where he died ſoon after. Edward and Emma, appriſed of the fate which awaited them, fled beyond ſea, the former into Normandy, the latter into Flanders; while Harold took poſſeſſion of all his brother's dominions without oppoſition. This prince, on account of his exceeding ſwiftneſs, was ſurnamed *Harefoot*. He died in April 1039.

Hardicanute ſucceeded his brother Harold without oppoſition. His government was extremely violent and tyrannical. Beſides his partiality for the Danes, he was ever craving ſupplies for his luxury, and in one year no leſs than forty thouſand pounds were levied. But the reluctance to pay theſe taxes was ſo great, that the king was obliged to ſend out his troops to collect them. The city and county of Worceſter, in particular, had recourſe to arms, to defend their liberties and properties, and ſlew two of the chief collectors. Hardicanute, fearful of the conſequence of this inſurrection, immediately ſent Leofric earl of Mercia, Godwin earl of Eſſex, and Siward his ſteward, three of the moſt powerful noblemen in the kingdom, to ſuppreſs this commotion. Theſe he directed to fall upon their lands with fire and ſword, to plunder and burn their city, to waſte their country, and to put all the male inhabitants to death.

But the rebels, apprehenſive of the conſequences of their defection, and unable to prevent it on account of the inferiority of their forces, had taken care to ſecure themſelves by retiring into wilds and inacceſſible places; while the inhabitants of Worceſter ſeized upon and fortified a little iſland in the Severn, called Beveridge,

veridge, reſolving to forfeit their lives or ſecure their freedom. However, the king's generals punctually fulfilled his cruel orders, which they began to carry into execution on the twelfth of November, 1040, and continued till the evening of the ſixteenth. They then marched to attack the entrenchments of the Worceſter men; but met with ſuch a warm reception, that, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attacks, they were obliged to grant an honourable capitulation to the beſieged, who returned with ſafety to their own city, which they rebuilt in a little time with double luſtre. The next year the king died in a debauch, as he was celebrating the nuptials of a Daniſh nobleman, and was buried at Wincheſter.

After his death, a favourable opportunity was offered to the Engliſh for ſhaking off the Daniſh yoke. Sweyn, king of Norway, the eldeſt ſon of Canute, was abſent, and, as the two laſt kings had died without iſſue, there appeared none of that race whom the Danes could ſupport as ſucceſſor to the throne. For this reaſon, the eyes of the nation were naturally drawn towards prince Edward, who happened to be at court when the king died. There were ſome reaſons, however, to fear, that Edward's ſucceſſion would be oppoſed by earl Godwin, who was by far the moſt powerful nobleman in the kingdom. A declared animoſity ſubſiſted between Edward and Godwin, on account of the hand which the latter had in the murder of his brother Alfred; and this was thought to be an offence of ſo grievous nature, that Edward could never forgive it. But here their common friends interpoſed; and, repreſenting the neceſſity of their good correſpondence, obliged them to lay aſide their animoſities, and to concur in reſtoring liberty to their native country. Godwin only ſtipulated that Edward, as a pledge of his ſincere reconciliation, ſhould promiſe to marry his daughter Editha. This propoſal was agreed to; Edward was crowned king of England, and married Editha as

he had promiſed. The marriage, however, proved rather a ſource of diſcord than otherwiſe between the king and Godwin. Editha, though a very amiable woman, could never obtain the confidence and affection of her huſband. It is even ſaid, that, during the whole courſe of her life, he abſtained from matrimonial converſe with her; and this ridiculous behavionr was highly celebrated by the monkiſh writers of the age, and contributed to the king's acquiring the title of Edward the Confeſſor.

Though the neglect of his daughter could not fail to awaken Godwin's former enmity againſt king Edward, it was neceſſary to chooſe a more popular ground before he could vent his complaints againſt the king in a public manner. He therefore choſe for his theme the influence which the Normans had on the affairs of government; and a declared oppoſition took place between him and theſe favourites. In a ſhort time, this animoſity openly broke out with great violence. Euſtace count of Bologne, having paid a viſit to the king, paſſed by Dover on his return. One of his train, being refuſed acceſs to a lodging which had been appointed for him, attempted to make his way by force, and wounded the maſter of the houſe in the conteſt. The townſmen revenged this inſult by the death of the ſtranger; the count and his train took arms, and murdered the townſman in his own houſe. A tumult enſued; near twenty perſons were killed on each ſide; and Euſtace, being overpowered with numbers, was at laſt obliged to fly. He complained to the king; who gave orders to earl Godwin, in whoſe government Dover lay, to puniſh the inhabitants. But this nobleman refuſed to obey the command, and endeavoured to throw the whole blame on count Euſtace and his followers. The king was diſpleaſed; and threatened to make him feel the utmoſt effects of his reſentment, in caſe he finally refuſed to comply. Upon this, Godwin aſſembled a powerful army, on pretence of repreſſing ſome diſorders

diſorders on the frontiers of Wales; but, inſtead of this, marched directly to Gloceſter, where the king at that time was without any military force.

Edward, perceiving his danger, applied to Siward duke of Northumberland, and Leofric duke of Mercia, two very powerful noblemen. They haſtened to him with ſuch followers as they could aſſemble, iſſuing orders at the ſame time for all the forces under their reſpective governments to march without delay to the defence of the king. Godwin in the mean time ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by negociations, till the king's army became ſo powerful that he was not able to cope with it. He was therefore obliged to fly with his family to Flanders. Here he was protected by Baldwin Earl of that country, together with his three ſons, Gurth, Sweyn, and Toſti; the laſt of whom had married Baldwin's daughter. Harold and Leofwin, two other ſons of Godwin, took ſhelter in Ireland.

After the flight of earl Godwin, he was proceeded againſt as a traitor by king Edward. His eſtates, and thoſe of his ſons, were confiſcated; his governments given to others; queen Editha was confined in a monaſtery; and the great power of this family, which had become formidable to the crown itſelf, ſeemed to be totally overthrown. Godwin, however, ſoon found means to retrieve his affairs. Having hired ſome ſhips, and manned them with his followers, he attempted to make a deſcent at Sandwich. The king, informed of his preparations, equipped a fleet which Godwin could not reſiſt, and he therefore retreated into the Flemiſh harbours. On his departure, the Engliſh diſmiſſed their armament. This Godwin had expected, and therefore kept himſelf in readineſs for the favourable opportunity. He immediately put to ſea, and ſailed to the Iſle of Wight, where he was joined by Harold with a ſquadron which he had collected in Ireland. Being thus maſter of the ſea, Godwin entered the harbours on the ſouthern coaſt; ſeized all the

the ſhips; and, being joined by great numbers of his former vaſſals, he ſailed up the Thames, and appeared before London.

The approach of ſuch a formidable enemy threw every thing into confuſion. The king alone ſeemed reſolute to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity; but the interpoſition of many of the nobility, together with the ſubmiſſion of Godwin himſelf, at laſt produced an accommodation. It was ſtipulated, that Godwin ſhould give hoſtages for his good behaviour, and that all the foreigners ſhould be baniſhed the kingdom; after which, Edward, ſenſible that he had not power ſufficient to detain the earl's hoſtages in England, ſent them over to his kinſman the young duke of Normandy.

But Godwin did not long enjoy this reconciliation; for as he was ſitting at dinner with king Edward, who ſtrongly ſuſpected him of having murdered his brother Alfred, that prince's name being accidentally mentioned, the king looked with an angry frown upon Godwin; the latter, taking a piece of bread in his hand, proteſted his innocence in the ſtrongeſt terms, wiſhing that the morſel he was going to eat might be his laſt, if he was guilty of ought either againſt Alfred's life or Edward's intereſt, and, attempting to ſwallow the morſel, he fell down choaked, ſpeechleſs, and breathleſs, all means of recovery being ineffectual. It is alſo recorded by the writers of thoſe days, that his eſtates in Kent ſunk into the ſea in the ſelf-ſame hour, and conſtituted thoſe ſhoals which have been termed the Goodwin Sands, oppoſite the town of Deal. Godwin was ſucceeded in the government of Weſſex, Suſſex, Kent, and Eſſex, and in the office of ſteward of the houſehold, a place of great power, by his ſon Harold. The ſon was no leſs ambitious than his father had been; and, as he was a man of much greater abilities, he became a more dangerous enemy to Edward than even Godwin himſelf. Edward knew

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no better expedient to prevent the increaſe of Harold's power, than by giving him a rival. This was Algar ſon of Leofric duke of Mercia, whom he inveſted with the government of Eaſt Anglia, which had formerly belonged to Harold. The latter, however, after ſome broils, finally got the better of his rival, and baniſhed him the kingdom. Algar returned ſoon after with an army of Norwegians, with whom he invaded Eaſt Anglia; but his death in a ſhort time freed Harold from all further apprehenſions from that quarter. His power was ſtill farther increaſed in a ſhort time after by the acceſſion of his brother Toſti to the government of Northumberland; and Edward now declining in years, and apprehenſive that Harold would attempt to uſurp the crown after his death, reſolved to appoint a ſucceſſor. He therefore ſent a deputation into Hungary, to invite over his nephew Edward, ſon to his elder brother, who was the only remaining heir of the Saxon line. That prince accordingly came over with his children, Edgar Atheling, Margaret, and Chriſtiana, but died a few days after his arrival. His death threw the king into greater perplexity than ever. Being reſolved to exclude Harold if poſſible, he ſecretly caſt his eye on his kinſman William duke of Normandy; a perſon of whoſe power, character, and capacity, he had juſtly a very high opinion. This advice had formerly been given him by Robert archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was himſelf a Norman, and had been baniſhed along with the reſt upon the return of earl Godwin. But Edward, finding that the Engliſh would more eaſily acquieſce in the reſtoration of the Saxon line, had in the mean time invited his brother's deſcendants from Hungary, as already mentioned. The death of his nephew, and the inexperience and unpromiſing qualities of young Edgar, made him reſume his former intentions in favour of of the duke of Normandy, though his averſion to hazardous enterpriſes engaged him to poſtpone the execution,

execution, and even to keep his purpose concealed from all his ministers.

Harold in the mean time increased his popularity by all possible means, in order to prepare his way for being advanced to the throne after the death of Edward, which now seemed to be fast approaching. He had no suspicion of the duke of Normandy as a rival; but, as he knew that a son and grandson of the earl Godwin were in the hands of that prince as hostages, he feared that they might be made use of as checks upon his ambition, in case he attempted afterwards to ascend the throne. He therefore prevailed upon Edward to release these hostages unconditionally; and, having obtained his consent, he set out for Normandy himself, attended by a numerous retinue. He was driven by a tempest on the territory of Guy count of Ponthieu, who detained him prisoner, and demanded an exorbitant sum for his ransom. Harold found means to acquaint William with his situation. The duke of Normandy, desirous of gaining Harold over to his party, commanded Guy to restore his prisoner to his liberty. Upon this Harold was immediately put into the hands of the Norman ambassador, who conducted him to Rouen. William received him with great demonstrations of respect and friendship; but soon took an opportunity of acquainting him with his pretensions to the crown of England, and asked his assistance in the execution of his scheme. Harold was surprised with this declaration of the duke; but, being entirely in his power, he feigned a compliance with his desires, and promised to second to the utmost of his ability the will of king Edward. William to secure him as much as possible to his interest, promised him his daughter in marriage, and required him to take an oath that he would fulfil his promises. Harold readily complied; but, to make the oath more binding, William privately conveyed under the altar where the oath was taken reliques of some of the most revered martyrs; and,

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when Harold had taken the oath, he ſhewed him the relics, and admoniſhed him to obſerve religiouſly ſuch a ſolemn engagement.

Harold was no ſooner at liberty, than he found himſelf maſter of caſuiſtry ſufficient to excuſe the breaking his oath, which had been extorted from him, and which, if kept, might be attended with the ſubjection of his country to a foreign power. He continued to practiſe every art to increaſe his popularity; and about this time two accidents enabled him to add much to that character which he had already ſo well eſtabliſhed. The Welſh had for ſome time made incurſions into the Engliſh territories, and had lately become ſo troubleſome, that Harold thought he could not do a more acceptable piece of ſervice to the public, than to undertake an expedition againſt theſe invaders. Having therefore prepared ſome light-armed foot to purſue the natives into their fortreſſes, ſome cavalry to ſecure the open country, and a ſquadron of ſhips to attack the ſea-coaſts, he employed all theſe forces againſt the enemy at once; and thus reduced them to ſuch diſtreſs, that they were obliged to purchaſe peace by ſending the Welſh king Griffin's head to Harold, and ſubmitting to two Welſh noblemen appointed by Edward.

The other incident was no leſs honourable to Harold. Toſti his brother had been created duke of Northumberland; but, being of a violent tyrannical temper, had treated the inhabitants with ſuch cruelty, that they roſe in rebellion againſt him, and drove him from his government. Morcar and Edwin, two brothers, grandſons of the great duke Leofric, joined in the inſurrection; and the former, being elected duke, advanced with an army to oppoſe Harold, who had been commiſſioned by the king to reduce and puniſh the Northumbrians. Before the armies engaged, Morcar endeavoured to juſtify his conduct, and repreſented to Harold, that Toſti had behaved in ſuch a manner, that no one, not even a brother, could de-

fend him without participating of the infamy of his conduct: that the Northumbrians were willing to ſubmit to the king, but required a governor that would pay ſome attention to their privileges; and they truſted that Harold would not defend in another that violent conduct from which his own government had always kept at ſo great a diſtance. This ſpeech was accompanied by ſuch a detail of well-ſupported facts, that Harold abandoned his brother's cauſe; and, returning to Edward, perſuaded him to pardon the Northumbrians, and confirm Morcar in his government. He even married the ſiſter of that nobleman; and by his intereſt procured Edwin the younger brother to be choſen governor of Mercia. Toſti, in a rage, departed the kingdom, and took ſhelter in Flanders with Baldwin his father-in-law; while William of Normandy ſaw that now he had nothing to expect from Harold, who plainly intended to ſecure the crown for himſelf.

Edward died in 1067, and was ſucceeded by Harold with as little oppoſition as though he had been the lawful heir. The very day after Edward's death, he was anointed and crowned by the archbiſhop of York. The whole nation ſeemed joyfully to ſwear allegiance to him. But he did not long enjoy the crown, to obtain which he had taken ſo much pains, and which he ſeemed to have ſuch capacity for wearing. His brother Toſti, provoked at his ſucceſs, ſtirred up againſt him every enemy he could have any influence with. The duke of Normandy was alſo enraged to the laſt degree at the perfidy of Harold; but, before he commenced hoſtilities, he ſent an embaſſy to England, upbraiding the king with his breach of faith, and ſummoning him to reſign the kingdom immediately. Harold replied, that the oath, with which he was reproached, had been extorted by the well-grounded fear of violence, and for that reaſon could never be regarded as obligatory: that he never had any commiſ-

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ſion either from the late king or the ſtates of England, who alone could diſpoſe of the crown, to make any tender of the ſucceſſion to the duke of Normandy; and if he, a private perſon, had aſſumed ſo much authority, and had even voluntarily ſworn to ſupport the duke's pretenſions, the oath was unlawful, and it was his duty to take the firſt opportunity of breaking it: that he had obtained the crown by the unanimous ſuffrages of the people; and ſhould ſhew himſelf totally unworthy of their favour, did he not ſtrenuouſly maintain thoſe liberties with which they had intruſted him; and that the duke, if he made any attempt by force of arms, ſhould experience the power of an united nation, conducted by a prince, who, ſenſible of the obligations impoſed on him by his royal dignity, was determined, that the ſame moment ſhould put a period to his life and to his government.

This anſwer was according to William's expectation; and therefore he had already made preparations for invading England. He was encouraged and aſſiſted in this enterprize by Howel count of Britany, Baldwin earl of Flanders, the emperor Henry IV. and pope Alexander II. The latter declared Harold a perjured uſurper; denounced excommunication againſt him and his adherents: and, the more to encourage William in his enterpriſes, ſent him a conſecrated banner, and a ring with one of St. Peter's hairs in it. Thus he was enabled to aſſemble a fleet of 3000 veſſels, on-board of which were embarked 60,000 men choſen from among thoſe numerous ſupplies which were ſent him from all quarters. Many eminent perſonages were enliſted under his banner. The moſt celebrated were Euſtace count of Bologne, Aimeri de Thouars, Hugh d'Eſtaples, William d'Evreux, Geoffroy de Rotrou, Roger de Beaumont, William de Warrenne, Roger de Montgomeri, Hugh de Grantmeſnil, Charles Martel, and Geoffroy Gifford.

In order to embarraſs the affairs of Harold the more effectually, William alſo excited Toſti, in concert with Halfager king of Norway, to infeſt the Britiſh coaſts. Theſe two, having collected a fleet of 350 ſhips, ſailed up the Humber, and diſembarked their troops, who began to commit great depredations. They were oppoſed by Morcar earl of Northumberland, and Edwin earl of Mercia, who were defeated. Harold, on the news of this invaſion, aſſembled a conſiderable army, and marched to their relief. The two invaders, however, being appriſed of his approach, had taken care to fortify their camp.

The ſituation of the country greatly contributed to their ſecurity; for the ſea was on the rear of their camp; on the left was the bay of the Humber, where their fleet lay at anchor; and their front and right were defended by the river Derwent, over which lay a bridge of which they were maſters. Harold was ſenſible of all this, yet his courage was ſo great that he was determined to attack them, ſtrongly entrenched as they were; but to do this, it was neceſſary to make himſelf maſter of the bridge over the Derwent. A party of Norwegians defended it with great reſolution, who were all cut to pieces, only one excepted, who bravely withſtood the attack of his aſſailants, armed with his battle-ax, and killed upwards of forty Engliſhmen with his own hands. At length this brave veteran was baſely killed by one of Harold's men, who got into a boat under the bridge, and through a hole, which he either made, or found ready made to his hands, thruſt a ſpear up into his lower parts; and thus died the brave Norwegian, not in the leaſt to the honour of his murderer.

Harold now forced his way into the enemy's camp, when a long, bloody, obſtinate, battle enſued. The Norwegians fought to defend their plunder, and Toſti becauſe he deſpaired of pardon from his greatly-injured brother. The perſonal valour of Harold did much; he

Norman Soldiers, as brought into England by William the Conqueror. anno 1066.

he moſtly ſought the ranks where Halfagar and Toſti commanded, and at length ſucceſsfully encountered the former, whilſt Toſti fell by a leſs dignified hand. The death of theſe two commanders diſpirited their troops, who were ſoon after totally routed. Thus Harold gained a great and glorious victory over theſe two deſperate enemies in one day. The booty was immenſe; the gold that was found being more than twelve young men could carry. This victory was followed by the ſurrender of all the Norwegian fleet. But the generous conqueror, having engaged Olaus Halfagar's ſon, and the earl of Orkney, by oath, never more to invade his kingdom, gave them twenty ſhips to carry away their wounded men.

The king of England had ſcarcely time to rejoice on account of his victory, when news was brought him that the Normans were landed in Suſſex. Harold's victory had conſiderably weakened his army. He loſt many of his braveſt officers and ſoldiers in the action; and he diſguſted the reſt by refuſing to diſtribute the Daniſh ſpoils among them. He haſtened, however, by quick marches, to repel this new invader; but, though he was reinforced at London and other places with freſh troops, he found himſelf weakened by the deſertion of his old ſoldiers, who, from fatigue and diſcontent, ſecretly withdrew from their colours. Gurth, the brother of Harold, a man of great conduct as well as bravery, became apprehenſive of the event; and entreated the king to avoid a general engagement for ſome time, or at leaſt not to hazard his perſon. But though this advice was in itſelf evidently proper, and enforced by all the arguments which Gurth could ſuggeſt, Harold continued deaf to every thing that could be ſaid. Accordingly, on the 14th of October 1066, which was Harold's birth-day, the two armies engaged, near Haſtings in Suſſex. The night before the battle, the aſpect of things was very different in the two camps. The Engliſh ſpent the time in riot, jollity, and

and diſorder; the Normans in prayer and other duties of religion. In the morning the duke divided his army into three lines: the firſt, headed by Montgomery, conſiſted of archers and light-armed infantry: the ſecond, commanded by Martel, was compoſed of his braveſt battalions of heavy-armed, and ranged in cloſe order: his cavalry, at whoſe head he placed himſelf, formed the third line; and were ſo diſpoſed, that they ſtretched beyond the infantry, and flanked each wing of the army. He ordered his ſignal of battle to ſound; and the whole army, moving at once, and ſinging the hymn or ſong of Roland the famous peer of Charlemagne, advanced, in order and with alacrity, towards the enemy.

Harold had ſeized the advantage of a riſing ground, and, having beſides drawn ſome trenches to ſecure his flanks, he reſolved to ſtand upon the defenſive, and to avoid all action with the cavalry, in which he was inferior. The Kentiſh men were placed in the van, a poſt which they had always claimed as their due; the Londoners guarded the ſtandard; and the king himſelf, accompanied by his two valiant brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, placed himſelf at the head of the infantry, and, after animating his troops, expreſſed his reſolution to conquer or to periſh in the action. The firſt attack of the Normans was deſperate, but was received with equal valour by the Engliſh: and after a furious combat, which remained long undecided, the former, overcome by the difficulty of the ground, and hard preſſed by the enemy, began firſt to relax their vigour; they then gave way; and confuſion was ſpreading among the ranks, when William, who found himſelf on the brink of deſtruction, haſtened, with a ſelect band, to the relief of his diſmayed forces. His preſence reſtored the action; the Engliſh were obliged to retreat with loſs; and the duke, ordering his ſecond line to advance, renewed the attack with freſh forces and with redoubled courage. Finding that the enemy, aided by

the advantage of ground, and animated by the example of the prince, ſtill made a vigorous reſiſtance, he tried a ſtratagem, which was very delicate in its management, but which ſeemed adviſable in his deſperate ſituation, when, if he gained not a deciſive victory, he was totally undone: he commanded his troops to make a ſpeedy retreat, and to allure the enemy from their ground by the appearance of flight. The artifice ſucceeded againſt theſe inexperienced troops; who, heated by the action, and ſanguine in their hopes, precipitantly followed the Normans into the plain. William gave orders, that at once the infantry ſhould face about upon their purſuers, and the cavalry make an aſſault upon their wings, and both of them purſue the advantage which the ſurpriſe and terror of the enemy muſt give them in that critical and deciſive moment. The Engliſh were repulſed with great ſlaughter, and driven back to the hill; where, being rallied again by the bravery of Harold, they were able notwithſtanding their loſs, to maintain the poſt and continue the combat. The duke tried the ſame ſtratagem a ſecond time with the ſame ſucceſs; but, even after this double advantage, he ſtill found a great body of the Engliſh, who, maintaining themſelves in firm array, ſeemed determined to diſpute the victory to the laſt extremity. The long bows of the Normans, however, greatly annoyed the Engliſh, who at this time were unuſed to them, and threw them into great diſorder. The duke ordered his heavy-armed infantry to make the aſſault upon them, while his bow-men, placed behind, ſhould gall the enemy, who were expoſed by the ſituation of the ground, and who were intent on defending themſelves againſt the ſwords and ſpears of the aſſailants. By this diſpoſition he at laſt prevailed. Harold was ſlain by an arrow, while he was combating with great bravery at the head of his men. His two brothers ſhared the ſame fate; and the Engliſh, diſcouraged by the fall of theſe princes, gave ground on all ſides, and

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were purſued with great ſlaughter by the victorious Normans. A few troops, however, of the vanquiſhed dared ſtill to turn upon their purſuers; and, taking them in deep and miry ground, obtained ſome revenge for the ſlaughter and diſhonour of the day. But the appearance of the duke obliged them to ſeek their ſafety by flight, and darkneſs ſaved them from any farther purſuit by the enemy.

Thus was gained, by William duke of Normandy, the great and deciſive battle of Haſtings, after a conteſt which laſted from morning till ſun-ſet, and which ſeemed worthy, by the heroic feats of valour diſplayed by both armies and by both commanders, to decide the fate of a great and mighty kingdom. William had three horſes killed under him; and there fell near fifteen thouſand men on the ſide of the Normans. The loſs was ſtill more conſiderable on the part of the vanquiſhed; beſides the death of the king and his two brothers. The dead body of Harold was brought to William, who reſtored it without ranſom to his mother.

Notwithſtanding the licentiouſneſs that prevailed in the Engliſh camp previous to the engagement, it has been given as the opinion of many diſtinguiſhed warriors, that the duke of Normandy would never have obtained the victory, had it not been for the uſe of the long bow, which he now firſt introduced into Britain, with a numerous corps of long-bowmen, by whom the flower of the Engliſh army, and the king himſelf, with many of his nobility, were killed. It is not however to be ſuppoſed that the Engliſh were ignorant of the bow, or its uſes; they undoubtedly knew and uſed bows of inferior dimenſions in the chace; but, they had never till now ſeen the long bow admitted into the army, and uſed with ſuch wonderful effect in battle.

Nothing could exceed the terror of the Engliſh upon the news of the defeat and death of Harold. The duke in the mean time undertook the ſiege of Dover, that

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were purſued with great ſlaughter by the victorious Normans. A few troops, however, of the vanquiſhed dared ſtill to turn upon their purſuers; and, taking them in deep and miry ground, obtained ſome revenge for the ſlaughter and diſhonour of the day. But the appearance of the duke obliged them to ſeek their ſafety by flight, and darkneſs ſaved them from any farther purſuit by the enemy.

Thus was gained, by William duke of Normandy, the great and deciſive battle of Haſtings, after a conteſt which laſted from morning till ſun-ſet, and which ſeemed worthy, by the heroic feats of valour diſplayed by both armies and by both commanders, to decide the fate of a great and mighty kingdom. William had three horſes killed under him; and there fell near fifteen thouſand men on the ſide of the Normans. The loſs was ſtill more conſiderable on the part of the vanquiſhed; beſides the death of the king and his two brothers. The dead body of Harold was brought to William, who reſtored it without ranſom to his mother.

Notwithſtanding the licentiouſneſs that prevailed in the Engliſh camp previous to the engagement, it has been given as the opinion of many diſtinguiſhed warriors, that the duke of Normandy would never have obtained the victory, had it not been for the uſe of the long bow, which he now firſt introduced into Britain, with a numerous corps of long-bowmen, by whom the flower of the Engliſh army, and the king himſelf, with many of his nobility, were killed. It is not however to be ſuppoſed that the Engliſh were ignorant of the bow, or its uſes; they undoubtedly knew and uſed bows of inferior dimenſions in the chace; but, they had never till now ſeen the long bow admitted into the army, and uſed with ſuch wonderful effect in battle.

Nothing could exceed the terror of the Engliſh upon the news of the defeat and death of Harold. The duke in the mean time undertook the ſiege of Dover, that

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that at the worſt he might be ſure of a retreat, and a ſafe place to remain in if neceſſary, till he could receive a reinforcement from Normandy. The conſternation of the Dover men was ſo great, that they quickly ſurrendered. The duke ordered the fortifications to be made ſtronger; he waited himſelf a few days to ſee the works forwarded, and then ſet out with his army for London, the inhabitants of which, being in the utmoſt confuſion, could determine upon nothing but ſhutting their gates. The conqueror had now reached Southwark, where he lay encamped for ſome days, willing to ſee if the Londoners would voluntarily ſubmit to him.

Edwin and Morcar took this opportunity to perſuade the citizens to make a ſally upon the Normans; but their unequal force was too eaſily repulſed, and only ſerved to provoke the duke to more vigorous exertions. However, as he thought a ſiege might be tedious and inconvenient to his army in their preſent circumſtances, he reſolved to take advantage of the conſternation which reigned in the city, and reduce them rather by terror than force. With this view he poſted himſelf at Wallingford, and ſent out detachments to plunder the country, to deprive the citizens of their proviſions, and at the ſame time burnt Southwark to the ground. Stigand, the primate, now came, and made ſubmiſſions to the conqueror in the name of the clergy; and, before he came within ſight of London, all the chief nobility, and even Edgar Atheling himſelf, (who, being the rightful heir to the throne, had juſt before been declared king,) came and ſubmitted to him. William very readily accepted of the crown upon the terms that were offered him; which were, that he ſhould govern according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms of the country. He could indeed have made what terms he pleaſed; but, though really a conqueror, he choſe rather to be thought an elected king. For this reaſon he was crowned at Weſtmin-

ter by the archbiſhop of York, and took the oath adminiſtered to the former kings of England; namely, that he would protect and defend the church, obſerve the laws of the realm, and govern the kingdom with impartiality.

Of the British Wars during the Sovereignty of the Normans.

THE firſt care of the conqueror, after taking poſſeſſion of his new dominions, was to new model his army, and incorporate the Engliſh amongſt his Norman ſoldiers. Senſible of the importance of archery, he encouraged and commanded the practice of it throughout the kingdom, ſo that Engliſh archers ſoon formed a very conſiderable part of the national infantry, and were univerſally conſidered ſuperior to thoſe of moſt other countries. To his own ſoldiers, however, he always entruſted the immediate execution of his will; and theſe were armed and equipped in a ſtile ſelected from the moſt approved military habiliments of different countries. The cavalry were defended by an hauberk or coat of mail, compoſed of ſmall ringlets of iron linked together like a net, which covered the whole body; over this was worn a looſe garment called a gambeſon, which deſcended as low as the knees, and was ſtuffed with wool or cotton, and quilted, to deaden the ſtrokes of the ſword or lance. Under or between the hauberk and gambeſon, a breaſt-plate of forged iron was put on; and, over the whole, knights and perſons of diſtinction wore fur-coats or cloaks of rich ſattin or velvet, finely embroidered. Their ſhields were of a triangular form, pointed at the bottom, and covered with leather, bound down with plates of iron or braſs. Their helmets were a ſort of ſcull-cap, called a *bacinet*, from its ſimilarity to a baſon. They were cloſely fitted to the head, and were of a conical form,

ſome

Pine sculp.

A Musketeer on the first introduction of Fire Arms.

Published [illegible]

ſome of which had a ſmall projection over the noſe, to defend the face from a tranſverſe ſtroke. Their defenſive weapons were a lance and a ſword. The horſes were defended by a ſort of maſk, which covered their faces, heads, and ears, and ſo contrived as to prevent their ſeeing right before them, in order that they might not be terrified from charging with vigour. Their necks were defended by a number of ſmall iron plates, called a *manefaire*; and they had *poitrinals* for their breaſts, and *croupieres* for covering and defending their buttocks and flanks.

The infantry were attired much like the cavalry, except that the latter wore plates of iron to defend their legs, which were deemed too heavy and cumberſome for the foot. Their weapons conſiſted of the long bow, a ſword, and a kind of a halbert, hooked liked a woodman's bill, at the back of which projected a ſpike, and another at the head, the handle of which was pointed at the end, in order to ſtick in the ground whenever they had recourſe to the bow. Their ſhield was a kind of target, ſlung over the right ſhoulder, with the bow and quiver. The annexed plate of Norman ſoldiers will ſerve to illuſtrate the foregoing deſcription.

With an army thus equipped, and ready on all occaſions to enforce the will of its commander, William is ſaid to have exerciſed grievous oppreſſions upon the conquered Britons. Whether by his conduct he willingly gave the Engliſh opportunities of rebelling againſt him, in order to have a pretence for oppreſſing them, is not eaſy to ſay; but it is certain that his reign was very arbitrary. The firſt diſguſt againſt his government was excited amongſt the clergy. William could not avoid rewarding thoſe numerous adventurers who had accompanied him in his expedition. He firſt divided the lands of the Engliſh barons who had oppoſed him among his Norman barons; but, as theſe were found inſufficient, he quartered the reſt on

the rich abbeys, of which there were many in the kingdom, until ſome other opportunity of providing for them offered itſelf. The whole nation was ſoon diſguſted, by ſeeing all the real power of the kingdom placed in the hands of the Normans. He diſarmed the city of London, and other places which appeared moſt warlike and populous, and quartered Norman ſoldiers wherever he dreaded an inſurrection. This was indeed acting as a conqueror, and not as an elected king; but the event ſhewed the neceſſity of ſuch precautions. The king, having thus ſecured, as he imagined, England from any danger of a revolt, determined to pay a viſit to his Norman dominions. He appointed his brother Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, and William Fitz-Oſbourne, regents in his abſence; and, to ſecure himſelf yet farther, he reſolved to carry along with him ſuch of the Engliſh nobility as he put the leaſt confidence in.

Having taken all theſe methods to enſure the tranquillity of his new kingdom; William ſet ſail for Normandy in March 1067; but his abſence produced the moſt fatal conſequences. Diſcontents and murmurings were multiplied every where; ſecret conſpiracies were entered into againſt the government; hoſtilities were commenced in many places; and every thing ſeemed to threaten a ſpeedy revolution. The Kentiſh men, who were the boldeſt, agreed to call in to their aſſiſtance Euſtace, earl of Boulogne, who had been a great ſoldier, and was at this time at variance with the king. They propoſed to make him head, and to aſſiſt him in ſurpriſing Dover-caſtle. They were ſo prudent in their negociation, and ſo faithful to one another, that the government had not the leaſt intimation of their proceedings. Euſtace accepted of the propoſal, and ſailed unnoticed by the Normans, in the night, to the Engliſh coaſt, landed, and made a vigorous attack upon the caſtle of Dover in two places at once. Though the aſſault was ſudden and unexpected, yet the Normans made a

brave reſiſtance, and were ſo intrepid as to throw open their gates, and, ſallying out at both places where they were attacked, fell furiouſly on the beſiegers, obliged Euſtace and his party to fly to their ſhips, and forced the other diviſion to the brow of a rock, where moſt of them periſhed by the ſteepneſs of the deſcent or the ſwords of the Normans; thus ended this attempt, which ſerved only to ſtrengthen the power of the government, and to increaſe the rigour of it. However, this affair, together with the inſurrection of the Engliſh in Herefordſhire, under Ederic called the Foreſter, who cruelly treated all the Normans that fell into his hands, haſtened the king's return to England, though in the depth of winter.

The city of Exeter, having refuſed to receive a Norman garriſon, had recourſe to arms; but, the king laying cloſe ſiege to the city, they were obliged to capitulate, having their lives and effects granted them. In order to prevent a like event for the future, and to keep that part of the country in awe, the king ordered a citadel to be built. This inſurection was followed by another in the North, at the head of which were the earls Edwin and Morcar, aſſiſted by the Welſh. But, the king promiſing to pardon the leaders, the affair was compromiſed. The next year the Scots marched into England, and ſurpriſed Durham by night, and put the governor and all the garriſon, conſiſting of ſeven hundred men, to the ſword. At the ſame time two hundred and forty ſail of Daniſh ſhips arrived, with land-forces on-board, in the Humber, to attempt the recovery of the kingdom of England. This expedition was commanded by Oſborne, brother to Swain king of Denmark, with his ſons Harold and Canute. Theſe, having joined the Scots and diſaffected Engliſh, directed the march towards York. The Norman garriſon, not being ſtrong enough to march out and oppoſe the invaders, retired into the caſtle; and, in order to prevent the enemy's lodging them-

themſelves in the out-houſes, they ſet fire to them, which, unhappily reaching the town, burnt it down to the ground, with the cathedral. The caſtle was afterwards taken by ſtorm, when the Danes put the garriſon, conſiſting of three thouſand men, to the ſword. William was ſo greatly alarmed at theſe proceedings, that he did all he could to recover the favour of his Engliſh ſubjects, promiſed to reſtore their ancient laws, recalled ſome of their baniſhed nobility, reſtored others to their liberties and eſtates, and found means to bribe the Daniſh general to deſert the Engliſh and Scots, and return home. He then beſieged the city of York, in which was a garriſon under earl Waltheof, who made a noble defence. But, as both the Scots and Danes were returned home, he thought it prudent to capitulate upon the terms allowed him: and indeed the conqueror, either from the good opinion he had conceived of his bravery, or out of policy, gave him the earldoms of Northampton and Huntington, and his neice in marriage.

The next year, the Engliſh made a general inſurrection, and ſuddenly called a number of troops from different parts. King William was ſo alarmed at this, that he deſired a conference, and ſwore upon the goſpels that he would re-eſtabliſh the ancient Saxon laws, upon which they diſperſed; but the king wickedly broke his oath. This occaſioned another rebellion the next year, when a body of Engliſh fortified the iſle of Ely, being joined by ſeveral conſiderable perſons, both laymen and clergy; but, after a brave defence, they were betrayed by the monks of the iſland. The king treated the priſoners he took with great cruelty, ordering the eyes of ſome to be put out, and others had their hands cut off, and many were impriſoned. The king of Scotland took the opportunity of theſe troubles to invade the northern counties, which he ravaged in a ſhocking manner.

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As ſoon therefore as William had ſettled matters at Ely, he reſolved to return the viſit, conſidering Scotland as the chief aſylum of his enemies. He accordingly led his army into the county of Galway, but only harraſſed his troops to no purpoſe; for the enemy, by retiring into mountains, bogs, and other faſtneſſes, eſcaped him, and very often annoyed him from their ambuſcades. Finding the enemy too cunning for him, he determined to attack Malcolm in the very heart of his dominions, and accordingly marched to Lothian, where he drew up his army. By this time he was met by Malcolm, who, ſeeing the king was prepared to fight him, kept upon the defenſive, and propoſed to make a peace, to which William agreed, upon Malcolm's ſwearing fealty to him.

A ſecret conſpiracy was now formed among the Engliſh for a general maſſacre of the Normans, like what had formerly been made of the Danes. This was proſecuted with ſo much animoſity, that the vaſſals of the earl of Coxo put him to death becauſe he refuſed to head them in the enterpriſe. The conſpirators had already taken the reſolution, and fixed the day for their intended maſſacre, which was to be on Aſh-Wedneſday, during the time of divine ſervice, when all the Normans would be unarmed as penitents, according to the diſcipline of the times. But William, having got intelligence of their bloody purpoſe, ſoon diſconcerted their ſchemes. Such of the conſpirators as had been more open in their rebellion conſulted their ſafety by flight; and this ſerved to confirm the proofs of an accuſation againſt thoſe who remained. From this time the king not only loſt all confidence in his Engliſh ſubjects, but regarded them as inveterate and irreconcilable enemies. He had already raiſed ſuch a number of fortreſſes in the country, that he no longer dreaded the tumultuous or tranſient efforts of a diſcontented multitude. He determined therefore to treat them as a conquered nation. The firſt inſtance

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of this treatment was his revival of the tax of Danegelt, which had been impoſed by the Daniſh conquerors, and was very odious to the people. This produced great diſcontents, and the Engliſh now became ſenſible that their deſtruction was intended. Their eaſy ſubmiſſion after the battle of Haſtings had inſpired the Normans with contempt; their commotions afterwards had rendered them objects of hatred; and they were now deprived of every expedient which could make them either regarded or beloved by their ſovereign. Many fled into foreign countries; and among the reſt Edgar Atheling himſelf, who made his eſcape to Scotland, and carried thither his two ſiſters Margaret and Chriſtiana. They were well received by Malcolm, who ſoon after married Margaret the elder ſiſter, and alſo received great numbers of other exiles with the utmoſt kindneſs.

The Engliſh, though unable to make any reſiſtance openly, did not fail to gratify their reſentment againſt the Normans in a private manner. Seldom a day paſſed, but the bodies of aſſaſſinated Normans were found in the woods and highways, without any poſſibility of bringing the perpetrators to juſtice. Thus, at length, the conquerors themſelves began again to wiſh for tranquillity and ſecurity; and ſeveral of them, though entruſted with great commands, deſired to be diſmiſſed the ſervice. In order to prevent theſe deſertions, which William highly reſented, he was obliged to allure others to ſtay by the largeneſs of his bounties. The conſequences were, freſh exactions from the Engliſh, and new inſurrections on their part againſt their oppreſſive maſters. The Norman power, however, was too well founded to be removed, and every attempt of the Engliſh to regain their liberty ſerved only to rivet their chains the more firmly. The county of Northumberland, which had been moſt active in theſe inſurrections, ſuffered moſt ſeverely. The whole of it was laid waſte, the houſes were burned, the

inſtruments

inſtruments of agriculture deſtroyed, and the inhabitants forced to ſeek new places of abode. On this occaſion it is ſaid that above 100,000 perſons periſhed either by the ſword or famine; and the country is ſuppoſed, even to this day, to retain the marks of its ancient depopulation. The eſtates of all the Engliſh gentry were next confiſcated, and beſtowed on the Normans. By this means all the ancient and honourable families were reduced to beggary; and the Engliſh found themſelves totally excluded from every road that led either to honour or preferment.

By proceeding in this manner, William at laſt broke the ſpirit of the Engliſh, and received no farther trouble from them. In 1076, however, he found that the latter part of his life was likely to be unhappy through diſſenſions in his own family. He had four ſons, Robert, Richard, William, and Henry, beſides ſeveral daughters. Robert, his eldeſt ſon, ſurnamed *Curthoſe*, from the ſhortneſs of his legs, was a prince who inherited all the bravery and ambition of his family. He had formerly been promiſed by his father the government of the province of Maine in France, and was alſo declared ſucceſſor of the dukedom of Normandy. He demanded from his father the fulfilment of theſe promiſes; but William gave him a flat denial, obſerving, that "it was not his cuſtom to throw off his clothes till he went to bed." Robert declared his reſentment; and openly expreſſed his jealouſy of his two brothers William and Henry, (for Richard was killed, in hunting, by a ſtag.) An open rupture was ſoon commenced. The two young princes one day took it into their heads to throw water on their elder brother as he paſſed through the court after leaving their apartment. Robert conſtrued this frolic into a ſtudied indignity; and, having theſe jealouſies ſtill farther inflamed by one of his favourites, he drew his ſword, and ran up ſtairs with an intent to take revenge. The whole caſtle was quickly filled with tu-

mult, and it was not without ſome difficulty that the king himſelf was able to appeaſe it. But he could not allay the animoſity which from that moment prevailed in his family. Robert, attended by ſeveral of his confederates, withdrew to Rouen that very night, hoping to ſurpriſe the caſtle; but his deſign was defeated by the governor. The popular character of the prince, however, engaged all the young nobility of Normandy, as well as of Anjou and Brittany, to eſpouſe his quarrel; even his mother is ſuppoſed to have ſupported him in his rebellion by ſecret remittances. The unnatural conteſt laſted for ſeveral years; and William was at laſt obliged to have recourſe to England for ſupport againſt his own ſon. Accordingly, he drew an army of Engliſhmen together; he led them over to Normandy, where he ſoon compelled Robert and his adherents to quit the field, and was quickly reinſtated in all his dominions. Robert then took ſhelter in the caſtle Gerberoy, which the king of France had provided for him, where he was ſhortly after beſieged by his father. As the garriſon was ſtrong, and conſcious of their treaſon, they made a gallant defence; and many ſkirmiſhes and duels were fought under its walls. In one of theſe the king and his ſon happened to meet; but, being both concealed by their helmets, they attacked each other with mutual fury. The young prince wounded his father in the arm, and threw him from his horſe. The next blow would probably have put an end to his life, had he not called for aſſiſtance. Robert inſtantly recollected his father's voice, leaped from his horſe, and raiſed him from the ground. He proſtrated himſelf in his preſence, aſked pardon for his offences, and promiſed for the future a ſtrict adherence to his duty. The king was not ſo eaſily appeaſed; and perhaps his reſentment was heightened by the diſgrace of being overcome. He therefore gave a malediction to his ſon; and returned to his own camp on Robert's horſe, which he had

had aſſiſted him to mount. After ſome recollection, however, he was reconciled to Robert, and carried him into England.

William returned in 1081; and, being now freed from his enemies both at home and abroad, began to have more leiſure to attend to his own domeſtic affairs. For this purpoſe the Domeſday-Book was compoſed by his order, containing a ſurvey of all the lands of England. It conſiſts of two volumes, a greater and a leſs. The firſt volume is a large folio, written on 382 double pages of vellum, in a ſmall but plain character; each page having a double column. Some of the capital letters and principal paſſages are touched with red ink; and ſome have ſtrokes of red ink run acroſs them, as if ſcratched out. This volume contains the deſcription of thirty-one counties. The other volume is in quarto, written in 450 double pages of vellum, but in a ſingle column, in a large but a very fair character. It contains the counties of Eſſex, Norfolk, Suffolk, part of the county of Rutland including in that of Northampton, and part of Lancaſhire in the counties of York and Cheſter. This work, according to the red book in the exchequer, was begun by order of William the Conqueror, with the advice of his parliament, in the year of our Lord 1080, and completed in the year 1086. The reaſon given for taking this ſurvey, as aſſigned by ſeveral ancient records and hiſtorians, was, that every man ſhould be ſatisfied with his own right, and not uſurp with impunity what belonged to another. But, beſides this, it is ſaid by others, that now all thoſe who poſſeſſed landed eſtates became vaſſals to the king, and paid him ſo much money by way of fee or homage in proportion to the lands they held. This appears very probable, as there was at that time extant a general ſurvey of the whole kingdom, made by order of king Alfred. For the execution of the ſurvey recorded in domeſday-book, commiſſioners were ſent into every county and ſhire; and juries ſummoned in

each hundred, out of all orders of freemen, from barons down to the loweſt farmers. Theſe commiſſioners were to be informed by the inhabitants, upon oath, of the name of each manor, and that of its owner; alſo by whom it was held in the time of Edward the Confeſſor; the number of hides; the quantity of wood, of paſture, and of meadow, land; how many ploughs were in the demeſne, and how many in the tenanted part of it; how many mills, how many fiſh-ponds or fiſheries, belonged to it; with the value of the whole together in the time of king Edward, as well as when granted by king William, and at the time of this ſurvey; alſo whether it was capable of improvement, or of being advanced in its value: they were likewiſe directed to return an account of the tenants of every degree, the quantity of lands then and formerly held by each of them, the number of villains or ſlaves, and alſo the number and kinds of their cattle and live ſtock. Theſe inquiſitions, being firſt methodized in the county, were afterwards ſent up to the king's exchequer. This ſurvey, at the time it was made, gave great offence to the people; and occaſioned a jealouſy that it was intended for ſome new impoſition. But, notwithſtanding all the precaution taken by the conqueror to have this ſurvey faithfully and impartially executed, it appears from indiſputable authority, that a falſe return was given in by ſome of the commiſſioners; and that, as it is ſaid, out of a pious motive. This was particularly the caſe with the abbey of Croyland in Lincolnſhire, the poſſeſſions of which were greatly under-rated both with regard to quantity and value. Perhaps more of theſe pious frauds were diſcovered, as it is ſaid Ralph Flambard, miniſter to William Rufus, propoſed the making a freſh and more rigorous inquiſition; but this was never executed. Notwithſtanding this proof of its falſehood in ſome inſtances, which muſt throw a ſuſpicion on all others, the authority of domeſday-book was never permitted

to

to be called in queſtion; and always, when it hath been neceſſary to diſtinguiſh whether lands were held in ancient demeſne, or in any other manner, recourſe has been had to that book, and to that only, to determine the doubt. From this definitive authority, from which, as from the ſentence pronounced at doomſday, or the day of judgment, there could be no appeal, the name of the book is ſaid to have been derived. But Stowe aſſigns another reaſon for this appellation; namely, that doomſday, or domeſday, is a corruption of *domus Dei*; a title given it becauſe heretofore depoſited in the king's treaſury, in a place of the church of Weſtminſter or Wincheſter, called *domus Dei*. From the great care formerly taken for the preſervation of this ſurvey, we may learn the eſtimation in which its importance was held. The dialogue de Saccariis ſays, "*Liber ille* (domeſday) *ſigilli regis comes eſt individuus in theſauro.*" Until lately it has been kept under three different locks and keys; one in the cuſtody of the treaſurer and the others in that of the two chamberlains of the exchequer. It is now depoſited in the chapter-houſe at Weſtminſter, where it may be conſulted on paying to the proper officers a fee of 6s. 8d. for a ſearch, aed fourpence per line for a tranſcript. Beſides the two volumes above mentioned, there is alſo a third made by order of the ſame king; and which differs from the others in form more than matter. There is alſo a fourth called domeſday, which is kept in the exchequer; which, though a very large volume, is only an abridgement of the others. In the remembrancer's office in the exchequer is kept a fifth book, likewiſe called domeſday, which is the ſame with the fourth book already mentioned. King Alfred had a roll which he called domeſday; and the domeſday-book made by William the Conqueror referred to the time of Edward the Confeſſor, as that of King Alfred did to the time of Ethelred. The fourth book of domeſday having many pictures and gilt letters in the beginning relating to the time of king Edward the Confeſſor,

feſſor, this had led ſome into a falſe opinion that domeſday-book was compoſed in the reign of king Edward.

Profiting by the information given in this book, William reſerved a very ample revenue for the crown; and, in the general diſtribution of land among his followers, kept poſſeſſion of no fewer than 1400 manors in different parts of the country. No king of England was ever ſo opulent, none was able to ſupport the ſplendour and magnificence of a court to ſuch a degree; none had ſo many places of truſt and profit to beſtow; and conſequently none ever had ſuch implicit obedience paid to his commands. He delighted greatly in hunting; and, to indulge himſelf in this with the greater freedom, he depopulated the county of Hampſhire for thirty miles, turning out the inhabitants, deſtroying all the villages, and making the wretched outcaſts no compenſation for ſuch an injury. In the time of the Saxon kings, all noblemen, without diſtinction, had a right to hunt in the royal foreſts; but William appropriated all theſe to himſelf, and publiſhed very ſevere laws to prohibit his ſubjects from encroaching on this part of his prerogative. The killing of a boar, a deer, or even a hare, was puniſhed with the loſs of the delinquents eyes; at the time when the killing of a man might be atoned for by paying a moderate fine or compoſition.

As the king's wealth and power were ſo great, it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that the riches of his miniſters were in proportion. Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, William's brother, was become ſo rich, that he reſolved to purchaſe the papacy. For this purpoſe, taking the opportunity of the king's abſence, he equipped a veſſel in the Iſle of Wight, on-board of which he ſent immenſe treaſures, and prepared for his embarkation. He was detained, however, by contrary winds; and, in the mean time, William, being informed of his deſigns, reſolved to prevent the exportation of ſo much wealth from his dominions. Returning therefore from Normandy,

Normandy, where he was at that time, he came to England the very inſtant his brother was ſtepping on-board. He immediately ordered him to be made priſoner: but his attendants, reſpecting the biſhop's eccleſiaſtical character, ſcrupled to execute his commands; ſo that the king was obliged to ſeize him with his own hand. Odo appealed to the pope: but the king replied, that he did not ſeize him as biſhop of Bayeux, but as earl of Kent; and, in that capacity, he expected, and would have, an account of his adminiſtration. He was therefore ſent priſoner to Normandy; and, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances and threats of pope Gregory, was detained in cuſtody during the remainder of William's reign.

Soon after this, William felt a ſevere blow in the death of Matilda his queen; and, almoſt at the ſame time, received information of a general inſurrection in Maine, the nobility of which had always been averſe to his government. Upon his arrival on the continent, he found that the inſurgents had been ſecretly aſſiſted and excited by the king of France, who took all opportunities of leſſening the Norman power, by creating diſſenſions among the nobles. His diſpleaſure on this account was very much increaſed by the notice he received of ſome railleries thrown out againſt him by the French monarch. It ſeems that William, who at this time was at Rouen, being very corpulent, and under a courſe of phyſic, the French king, who had changed his dread of him into contempt, ſaid ſcoffingly, "Our brother of England is gone to lay his great belly at Rouen, and I doubt I muſt be at the charge of ſetting up lights at his up-riſing;" (alluding to the women's cuſtom of offering lighted candles on their firſt going abroad after lying-in.) William, being told of this, it is ſaid, ſwore, "he would ſave him the charge of ſetting up wax-lights, for he would offer in the church of Notre Dame, at Paris, ten thouſand lances by way of lights."

To perform this promiſe, he levied a powerful army; and, entering the Iſle of France, deſtroyed every thing with fire and ſword. He took the town of Mante, and reduced it to aſhes. But a period was ſoon put to the conqueſts and to the life of this great warrior by an accident. His horſe, happening to put his fore-feet in ſome hot aſhes, (while the king was ſeeing his own orders for the burning of the churches in that town put in execution,) plunged ſo violently, that the rider was thrown forward, and bruiſed his belly on the pommel of the ſaddle. Being now in a bad habit of body, as well as ſomewhat advanced in years, he began to be apprehenſive of the conſequences, and ordered himſelf to be carried in a litter to the monaſtery of St. Gervaiſe. Finding his illneſs increaſe, and being ſenſible of the approach of death, he diſcovered at laſt the vanity of all human grandeur, and was ſtruck with remorſe for thoſe many cruelties and violences of which he had been guilty. He endeavoured to make compenſation by preſents to churches and monaſteries, and gave orders for the liberation of ſeveral Engliſh noblemen. He was even prevailed upon, though not without ſome reluctance, to releaſe his brother Odo, againſt whom he was very much incenſed. He left Normandy and Maine to his eldeſt ſon Robert. He wrote to Lanfranc the primate of England, deſiring him to crown William king of England. To Henry he bequeathed nothing but the poſſeſſions of his mother Matilda; but foretold, that one day he would ſurpaſs both his brothers in power and opulence; and in fact he became king of England after the death of his brother, William II. The conqueror died in 1087, in the 63d year of his age, and 21ſt of his reign.

William, ſurnamed *Rufus*, from his red hair, was in Normandy at the time of his father's illneſs. He no ſooner received the letter for Lanfranc, than, leaving his father in the agonies of death, he ſet out for England; where he arrived before intelligence of the deceaſe

ceaſe of the Conqueror had reached that kingdom. Being ſenſible that his brother Robert, as being the eldeſt ſon, had a preferable title to himſelf, he uſed the utmoſt diſpatch in getting himſelf firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne. The Engliſh were ſo effectually ſubdued, that they made no oppoſition; but the Norman barons were attached to Robert. This prince was brave, open, ſincere, and generous; and even his predominant fault of indolence was not diſagreeable to thoſe haughty barons, who affected an almoſt total independence of their ſovereign. The king, on the other hand, was violent, haughty, and tyrannical. A powerful conſpiracy was therefore carried on againſt William; and Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, undertook to conduct it. Many of the moſt powerful nobility were concerned; and, as the conſpirators expected to be in a ſhort time ſupported by powerful ſuccours from Normandy, they retired to their caſtles, and put themſelves in an offenſive poſture.

William, ſenſible of his danger, engaged the Engliſh on his ſide, by promiſing mitigation of their hardſhips, and liberty to hunt in the royal foreſts. Robert, in the mean time, through his natural indolence, neglected to give his allies proper aſſiſtance. The conſpirators were obliged to ſubmit. Some of them were pardoned; but moſt of their eſtates were confiſcated, and beſtowed on the barons who had continued faithful to the king.

William, freed from this danger, thought no more of his promiſes to the Engliſh. He proved a greater tyrant than his father; and, after the death of Lanfranc, who had been his preceptor, and kept him within ſome bounds, he gave full ſcope to his violent and rapacious diſpoſition. Not content with oppreſſing the laity, he invaded the privileges of the church; which, in thoſe days, were held moſt ſacred. He ſeized the temporalities of all the vacant biſhoprics and abbeys, and openly put to ſale thoſe ſees and abbeys which he thought proper to diſpoſe of.

These proceedings occasioned great murmurs among the ecclesiastics, which were quickly spread through the nation; but the terror of William's authority preserved the public tranquillity. In 1090, the king thought himself strong enough to attempt the conquest of Normandy, which at that time was in the greatest confusion through the indolent and negligent administration of Robert. Several of the barons had revolted, and these revolts were encouraged by the king of France. Robert also imagined he had reason to fear the intrigues of his other brother Henry, whom for 3000 marks he had put in possession of Cottentin, near a third part of the duchy of Normandy. He therefore threw him into prison; but, finding himself threatened with an invasion from the king of England, he gave Henry his liberty, and even made use of his assistance in suppressing the insurrections of his rebellious subjects. William, however, was no sooner landed in Normandy, than the nobility on both sides interposed, and a treaty of peace was concluded. In this treaty Henry finding his interests entirely neglected, he retired to St. Michael's Mount, a strong fortress on the coast of Normandy, and infested the neighbourhood with his incursions. He was besieged by his two brothers, and obliged to capitulate in a short time; after which, being deprived of all his dominions, he wandered about for some time with very few attendants, and often in great poverty.

During this siege, as the king was one day riding abroad unattended, he, before he was aware, fell in with a party of Henry's men. Presuming upon his own strength, which was proportioned to his courage, he disdained, though in his power, a retreat, thinking himself invincible by a small number of men; and therefore, spurring his horse, advanced up to them. But he was soon sensible of his folly; for a trooper, no way his inferior in bravery, had the good fortune mortally to wound his horse at the first encounter. The beast,

beaſt, in the fury of his pain, dragged the king a long way on the ground by the foot, yet he happily received no great hurt from this accident, but was very near loſing his life by the trooper, who purſued him, and had his ſword ready lifted to diſpatch him, when William haſtily cried out, "Hold, fellow, I am the king of England." This ſtruck the whole party with awe, and, lifting the king up with great reverence, they remounted him on another horſe; when, finding himſelf ſafe, he looked earneſtly round, and with ſome vehemence cried out, "Where is the man who diſmounted me?" None was bold enough to reply, till the gallant trooper himſelf, coming forward, bravely anſwered, "It was I, ſir; I took you not for a king, but for a comman man." "Then," replied the king with a ſmile, "you are mine from this time forth; under me you ſhall ſerve, and be rewarded for your merit."--We ſhall mention another incident that happened during this ſiege between the two brothers, Henry and Robert, which ſhews the generoſity of the latter. The beſieged being very greatly diſtreſſed for want of water, Henry, who knew the generous diſpoſition of his brother, and how capable of compaſſion, ſent to remonſtrate with him on the impiety of depriving him of the common gift of nature, and how unworthy of an hero, to win by engroſſing an element what he ought to owe to his courage only. Robert was touched with this remonſtrance, and, ordering the guards to ſlacken the blockade, gave Henry an opportunity of laying in what quantity of water he pleaſed.

The peace with Robert was of no long duration. In the interval ſome hoſtilities with Scotland ſucceeded, and theſe terminated in the death of Malcolm king of that country; after which new broils enſued with Normandy. The rapacious temper of William prompted him to encroach upon his brother's territories, and the ſame rapacity prompted him to uſe a very extraordinary expedient in order to accompliſh his deſigns. Having

gone over to Normandy to ſupport his partiſans, he ordered an army of 20,000 men to be raiſed in England, and conducted to the ſea-coaſt as if they were to be immediately embarked: but, when they came there, inſtead of embarking, they were forced to pay the king ten ſhillings a man; after which they were diſmiſſed to their ſeveral counties. With this money William engaged the king of France to depart from the protection of Robert; and alſo bribed many of the Norman barons to revolt. He was called from Normandy, however, by an irruption of the Welſh; and, having repulſed them, he was prevented from attempting other enterpriſes by a conſpiracy of his barons.

As William was hunting in the New Foreſt, having not long been returned to England, he received advice that his late conqueſt in France, the city of Mantes, was retaken by Hely, count de la Fleſche, and that the caſtle was ſo cloſely preſſed, that it would be obliged to ſurrender, if not ſpeedily relieved. Whereupon, he ordered the meſſenger to acquaint the governor, he ſhould be relieved in eight days. Then, with his uſual vivacity, he aſked his attendants how the caſtle of Mantes ſtood from the place he was then upon? Being ſhewn, he turned his horſe's head, and rode directly to the ſea-coaſt. Thoſe who were with him entreated him to wait till the neceſſary preparations were made for the expedition. But he only replied, "Let thoſe who love me follow me." Dartmouth was the next ſea-port town; when he came thither, the weather was tempeſtuous, and the ſea very rough, and only a crazy veſſel in the port. He ordered the maſter of it to put to ſea immediately, who repreſenting the inevitable danger of the voyage, the king replied, "Set ſail; didſt thou ever hear of a king who was drowned?" None daring to remonſtrate farther, they ſet ſail, and arrived ſafe the next morning at Barfleur, in France. He immediately drew together ſuch troops as were in the neighbourhood, and marched with ſuch

expedition to Mantes, that the enemy, ſurpriſed at this prodigious diſpatch, raiſed the ſiege, after a few ſkirmiſhes, and made a haſty retreat. The count de la Fleſche, who was taken priſoner, being brought into the king's preſence, the latter reproached him with much bitterneſs. This provoked the earl to reply to the king, "That he had but little cauſe for triumph for an advantage owing not to valour but to fortune. Were I but at liberty once more," continued he, "I know what I ſhould do." William, ſeemingly glad of this opportunity to make a retaliation for having inſulted this brave man, "And what would you do, ſir," ſaid he, "were you at liberty? haſte! be gone! fly! you are at liberty to do what you will; and, by the face of St. Luke," his common oath, continued he, "if ever it ſhall be your chance to conquer me, I ſhall demand nothing for this favour."

In 1096, however, the ſuperſtition of Robert put the king of England in poſſeſſion of thoſe dominions which he had not been able to conquer by force of arms. The cruſades were now commenced, and Robert was deſirous of undertaking an expedition into the Holy Land. As money for this purpoſe was wanting, he mortgaged his dominions to his brother for 10,000 marks. The king raiſed the money by violent extortions on his ſubjects; forcing even the convents to melt their plate, in order to furniſh the quota demanded of them. He was then put in poſſeſſion of Normandy and Maine; and Robert with a magnificent train ſet out for the Holy Land.

After the death of Lanfranc, the king had retained in his own hands the revenues of Canterbury, as he had done thoſe of many other biſhopries; but, falling into a dangerous illneſs, he was ſeized with remorſe; and the clergy repreſented to him that he was in danger of eternal perdition if he did not make atonement for thoſe impieties and ſacrileges of which he had been guilty. He therefore inſtantly reſolved to ſupply the vacancy

vacancy of Canterbury: he ſent for Anſelm, a Piedmonteſe by birth, abbot of Bec in Normandy, who was much celebrated for his piety and devotion. The abbot refuſed the dignity with great earneſtneſs; fell on his knees, wept, and intreated the king to change his purpoſe; and, when he found him obſtinate in forcing the paſtoral ſtaff upon him, he kept his fiſt ſo hard clenched, that it required the utmoſt violence of the by-ſtanders to open it, and force him to receive that enſign of his ſpiritual dignity. William ſoon after recovered his health, and with it his violence and rapacity. As he now ſpared the church no more than before, ſome quarrels with Anſelm ſoon enſued; which were the more dangerous to the king, on account of the great character for piety which the primate had acquired by his zeal againſt abuſes of all kinds, particularly thoſe of dreſs and ornament.

Theſe diſputes were hardly ſettled, when the king, who had undertaken an expedition into Wales, required Anſelm to furniſh him with a certain number of ſoldiers. The primate regarded this as an invaſion of the rights of the church; and therefore, though he durſt not refuſe compliance, ſent the men ſo miſerably accoutred, that the king was exceedingly diſpleaſed, and threatened him with a proſecution. Anſelm demanded reſtitution of all his revenues which the king had ſeized, and appealed to the pope. The quarrel, however, ran ſo high that the primate found it dangerous to remain in England. He deſired and obtained the king's permiſſion to retire beyond ſea. His temporalities were confiſcated immediately on his departure; but pope Urban received him as a martyr in the cauſe of religion, and even threatened the king with ſentence of excommunication. William, however, proceeded in his projects of ambition and violence, without regarding the threats of the pope; who he knew was at that time too much engaged with the cruſades to mind any other buſineſs. Though his acquiſition

quiſition of Maine and Normandy had brought him into perpetual conteſts with the haughty and turbulent barons who inhabited thoſe countries, and raiſed endleſs tumults and inſurrections; yet William ſeemed ſtill intent on extending his dominions either by purchaſe or conqueſt. William earl of Poictiers and duke of Guienne had reſolved upon an expedition to the Holy Land; and, for this purpoſe, had put himſelf at the head of a vaſt multitude, conſiſting, according to ſome hiſtorians, of 60,000 horſe, and a much greater number of foot. Like Robert of Normandy, he offered to mortgage his dominions for money ſufficient to conduct this multitude into Aſia. The king accepted his offer, and had prepared a fleet and army to take poſſeſſion of theſe dominions, when an unfortunate accident put an end to his projects and his life. He was engaged in hunting, the ſole amuſement, and indeed the principal occupation, of princes in thoſe rude times. Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman remarkable for his ſkill in archery, attended him in this recreation, of which the New Foreſt in Hampſhire was the ſcene. William had diſmounted after a chaſe; and Tyrrel, impatient to ſhew his dexterity, let fly an arrow at a ſtag which ſuddenly ſtarted before him. The arrow glanced from a tree, and ſtruck the king to the heart. He inſtantly fell down dead; and Tyrrel, terrified at the accident, clapt ſpurs to his horſe, haſtened to the ſea-ſhore, and embarked for France, where he joined the cruſade that was ſetting out from that country. This happened on the 2d of Auguſt, 1100, after the king had reigned 13 years, and lived about 40. His body was found in the woods by the country people, and buried without ceremony in Wincheſter cathedral.

After the death of William, the crown of right devolved to Robert his eldeſt brother; for William had no legitimate children. But what Robert had formerly loſt by his indolence, he was again deprived of by his abſence at the holy war. Prince Henry was in the

the foreſt with William Rufus at the time the latter was killed. He no ſooner heard the important news, than he hurried to Wincheſter, and ſecured the royal treaſure. William de Breteuil, keeper of the treaſure, arrived almoſt the ſame inſtant, and oppoſed his pretenſions; telling him, that it belonged by right to his elder brother, who was now his ſovereign, and for whom he was determined to keep it. But Henry, drawing his ſword, threatened him with inſtant death if he dared to diſobey him; and others of the late king's retinue, who came every moment to Wincheſter, joining the prince's party, he was obliged to deſiſt. Henry loſt no time in fully accompliſhing his purpoſe. In leſs than three days he got himſelf crowned king of England by Maurice biſhop of London. Preſent poſſeſſion ſupplied every deficiency of title; and no one dared to appear in defence of the abſent prince.

The beginning of king Henry's reign promiſed to be favourable to the Engliſh liberty; owing chiefly to his fear of his brother. To conciliate the affections of his ſubjects, he paſſed a charter calculated to remove many of the grievous oppreſſions which had been complained of during the reigns of his father and brother. He promiſed, that, at the death of any abbot or biſhop, he never would ſeize the revenues of the ſee or abbey during the vacancy, but would leave the whole to be reaped by the ſucceſſor; and that he would never let to farm any eccleſiaſtical benefice, or diſpoſe of it for money. To the laity he promiſed, that, upon the death of any earl, baron, or military tenant, his heir ſhould be admitted to the poſſeſſion of his eſtate, on paying a juſt and lawful relief; without being expoſed to thoſe enormous exactions which had been formerly required. He remitted the wardſhip of minors; and allowed guardians to be appointed, who ſhould be anſwerable for the truſt. He promiſed not to diſpoſe of any heireſs in marriage but by advice of all the barons; and, if any baron intended to give his daughter,

daughter, ſiſter, niece, or kinſwoman, in marriage, it ſhould only be neceſſary for him to conſult the king, who promiſed to take no money for his conſent, nor ever to refuſe permiſſion unleſs the perſon to whom it was propoſed to marry her ſhould happen to be his enemy. He granted his barons and military tenants the power of bequeathing by will their money or perſonal eſtates; and, if they neglected to make a will, he promiſed that their heirs ſhould ſucceed to them. He renounced the right of impoſing moneyage, and of levying taxes at pleaſure, on the farms which the barons kept in their own hands. He made ſome general profeſſion of moderating fines; he offered a pardon for all offences; and remitted all debts due to the crown. He alſo required, that the vaſſals of the barons ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges which he granted to his own barons; and he promiſed a general confirmation and obſervance of the laws of Edward the Confeſſor. To give greater authenticity to theſe conceſſions, a copy of the charter was lodged in the principal abbey of each county.

King Henry, further to increaſe his popularity, degraded and committed to priſon Ralph Flambard, biſhop of Durham, who had been the chief inſtrument of oppreſſion under his brother. He ſent for Anſelm, who was then at Lyons, inviting him to return and take poſſeſſion of his dignities. Anſelm returned; but, when Henry propoſed to him to do the ſame homage to him which he had done to his brother, the king met with an abſolute refuſal. The rite of homage by the feudal cuſtom was, that the vaſſal ſhould throw himſelf on his knees, put his joined hands between thoſe of his ſuperior, and ſhould in that poſture ſwear fealty to him. But the council declared it execrable, that pure hands, which could create God, and offer him up for the ſalvation of mankind, ſhould be put, after this humiliating manner, between profane hands, which, beſides being inured to rapine and bloodſhed,

were employed day and night in impure purpoſes and obſcene contacts. To this decree therefore Anſelm appealed; and declared, that, ſo far from doing homage for his ſpiritual dignity, he would not even communicate with any eccleſiaſtic who paid that ſubmiſſion, or who accepted of inveſtitures from laymen. Henry durſt not inſiſt; and therefore deſired that the controverſy might be ſuſpended, and that meſſengers might be ſent to Rome to accommodate matters with the pope, and to obtain his confirmation of the laws and cuſtoms of England.

Henry now took another ſtep which ſeemed capable of confirming his claim to the crown without any danger of a rival. The Engliſh remembered with regret their Saxon monarchs, when they compared the liberty they enjoyed under them with the tyranny of the Normans. Some deſcendants of that favourite line ſtill remained; and, among the reſt, Matilda, the neice of Edgar Atheling. Upon her the king fixed his eyes as a proper conſort, by whoſe means the breach between the Saxons and Normans might be cemented. A difficulty, however, occurred, becauſe ſhe had been educated in a nunnery. The affair was examined by Anſelm in a council of prelates and nobles ſummoned at Lambeth. Matilda there proved, that ſhe had put on the veil, not with a deſign of entering into a religious life, but merely in imitation of a cuſtom familiar to the Engliſh ladies, who protected their chaſtity from the brutal violence of the Normans by taking ſhelter under that habit, which, amid the horrid licentiouſneſs of the times, was yet generally revered. The council, ſenſible that even a princeſs had otherwiſe no ſecurity for her honour, admitted this reaſon as valid. They pronounced that Matilda was ſtill free to marry; and her nuptials with Henry were celebrated by Anſelm with great ſolemnity and pomp.

While Henry was thus rendering himſelf popular at home, his brother Robert, who had loitered away a twelvemonth

twelvemonth in Italy, where he married Sibylla, daughter of the count of Converſana, arrived in England, in 1101, in order to put in his late and ineffectual claim to the crown. His fame, however, on account of the exploits he had performed in Paleſtine, was ſo great, that even yet he was joined by many noblemen of the firſt rank, and the whole nation ſeemed prepoſſeſſed in his favour. But Henry, having paid his court to Anſelm, by his means retained the army in his intereſts, and marched with them to Portſmouth, where Robert had landed his forces a few days before. The armies lay for ſome time in ſight of each other; when an accommodation was effected through the mediation of Anſelm and other great men. By this treaty it was agreed, that Robert ſhould reſign his pretenſions to England, and receive in lieu of them an annual penſion of three thouſand marks; that, if either of the princes died without iſſue, the other ſhould ſucceed to his dominions; that the adherents of each ſhould be pardoned, and reſtored to all their poſſeſſions either in Normandy or in England; and that neither Robert nor Henry ſhould thenceforth encourage, receive, or protect, the enemies of each other.

The two princes ſeparated with mutual marks of friendſhip; but next year, Henry, under various pretences, confiſcated the eſtates of almoſt all the noblemen who had favoured his brother's pretenſions. Robert, enraged at the fate of his friends, ventured to come to England in order to remonſtrate with his brother in perſon. But he met with ſuch a bad reception, that, apprehending his liberty to be in danger, he was glad to make his eſcape by reſigning his penſion.

From the ſecond year of Henry's reign, in which he expelled Robert de Beleſme, earl of Shrewſbury, the moſt turbulent of his barons, out of his realm, even to the day of his death, that is, for the ſpace of thirty-three years, there was no revolt nor the leaſt

commotion in England. A length of tranquillity ſcarcely to be parallelled in the hiſtory of this kingdom, and more extraordinary then, conſidering how very factious and prone to ſedition the temper of the barons appeared to be in the beginning of this and throughout all the following reign.

It may not therefore be improper to avail ourſelves of this opportunity to take a retroſpective view of ſuch events as particularly fall under the ſubjects treated of in this Work.

What are now called the Cinque Ports firſt received that name from William I. who, conſidering Kent as the key to England, created a conſtable over Dover Caſtle, whom he appointed (in imitation of the ancient Roman cuſtom) governor, or warden, of five ports; namely, Dover, Haſtings, Hythe, Romney, and Sandwich; to which Winchelſea and Rye are annexed as principals, and ſome other little towns as members only; and, in modern times, Seaford has been added to the above-named ſeven towns.

The contributions which the Cinque Ports were required to make the king of ſhipping, appear, from an ancient record, to have been as follows:

1. Haſtings, twenty-one ſhips, in each twenty men and above. Its members were, Seaford, Pevenſey, Hodeney, Winchelſea, Rye, Thane, Beckſburne, Grange, Northey, and Bulwerhith.

2. Romney, five ſhips, and in each twenty-one men. Members, Promhell, Lede, Eaſtweſton, Dengemerys, and Old Romney.

3. Hythe, ſhips and men as Romney. Member, Weſt-Hythe.

4. Dover, ſhips and men as Romney and Hythe. Members, Folkeſtone, Feverſham, and St. Margaret's: not for the land, but for the goods and chattels.

5. Sandwich, ſhips and men as Romney and Hythe. Members, Fordwich, Reculver, Serre, and Deal: not for the ſoil, but for the goods.

The

The record, which furniſhes us with this fact, is in Latin, and the king's precept is directed "To the barons and good men of the port of Haſtings." It ſets forth, that, "on account of certain and urgent affairs relating to us and our faithful ſubjects, you get ready, and ſend to our port of London, your whole ſervice of ſhipping, well ſupplied with arms, &c. ſo as our ſervice be by no means retarded." It concludes thus: "We alſo deſire of you, that, over and above the above-named ſervice which you are bound to us, you do ſend to us all your other ſhipping, as well of forty tons as of upward of forty tons of wine, well-furniſhed as aforeſaid; which laſt demand, however, above your wonted ſervice, ſhall not be drawn into conſequence hereafter."

The privileges anciently annexed to theſe ports and their dependants were,

I. An exemption from all taxes and tolls.

II. A power to oblige all that lived in their juriſdiction to plead in their courts, and to puniſh offenders in their own bounds; as alſo murderers, and fugitives from juſtice.

III. A power to puniſh foreigners, as well as natives, for theft; to have a pillory, and a tumbrel or cucking-ſtool.

IV. A power to raiſe mounds or banks in any man's land againſt breaches of the ſea.

V. To appropriate to their own uſe all loſt goods, and wandering cattle, if not claimed within a year and a day.

VI. To have commons, and to be at liberty to cut down the trees growing upon them.

VII. To convert to their own uſe ſuch goods as they found floating on the ſea; thoſe thrown out of ſhips in a ſtorm; and thoſe driven aſhore when no wreck or ſhip was to be ſeen.

VIII. To be a guild or fraternity, and to be allowed the franchiſes of court-leet and court-baron.

IX. A power to assemble and keep a portmote or parliament for the Cinque Ports; to punish all infringers of their privileges; make bye-laws, and hear all appeals from the inferior courts.

X. Their barons to have the privilege of supporting the canopy over the king's head at his coronation.

As the term baron occurs continually throughout all the charters of the Ports, it may not be improper to inform our readers, that it is of the same import as burgess or freeman. From the mode in which it is used, there is great reason to think, that every inhabitant of the Ports, contributing to their common expences, and other services, was a baron, that is, a freeman. In some of the oldest boroughs in the kingdom, wherein the lands were holden in ancient demesne, every inhabitant, who paid a rent to the crown, was intitled to the elective franchise; by analogy it should seem probable, that the same rights formerly prevailed in the Ports as to those inhabitants who were assessed to the exigencies of the public. There are many other circumstances which give great strength to this supposition, which will hereafter be touched upon. The representatives of the Ports in parliament are, to this day, stiled barons, because they were formerly, as they still ought to be, chosen from amongst the inhabitants at large. The modern practice, however, is widely different; the nominee of the treasury is, in most of the Ports, the person who is returned, as a mere matter of course; scarcely any one of the sixteen members of the Cinque Ports having the smallest connection with, or being personally known in, the town which he represents, the only (but a very sufficient it must be acknowledged) necessary introduction being the treasury warrant. Lord Coke informs us, that the privileged Ports were at first but three; for, at the making of Doomsday Book, which was in the fourteenth year of the Conqueror, there are but three made mention of, viz. Dover, Sandwich, and Romney; it is certain that

that these three were enfranchised together by Edward the Confessor; and, on consideration of certain services to be performed by their shipping at sea, and for some other considerations, were exonerated from such contributions and burthens as other towns were usually charged with.

The chief officer of the Ports, according to Lord Coke's second Institute, is called the Warden or Keeper of the Cinque Ports, who is also admiral thereof, and, among them, hath the jurisdiction of the admiralty, which is wholly exempt from the admiralty of England. This warden, says that great judge, ought ever to be a man of great fidelity, wisdom, courage, and experience; for that he hath the charge of the principal gates of the kingdom; he is also a constable of Dover-castle; which post, formerly considered of so much honour and consequence, is now converted into a patent sinecure place, for life, with a salary of 4000l. a year from the civil list annexed, which, with the old and customary fees and perquisites, renders it *communibus annis* equal to about 6000l. and is one of those good things which that virtuous minister Lord North (afterwards Earl of Guilford) secured for himself while in power, thinking himself, no doubt, well intitled to it at the hands of the public, for the services he rendered this nation in America and elsewhere. It is now holden by Mr. Pitt.

It should be observed, that the lord warden is the general returning officer of all the Ports; and that all parliamentary writs are directed to him, in the same manner as to sheriffs of counties; upon which he issues his precepts for the election to the proper officer of each Port.

It seems to have been about the close of the eleventh century, that Merchant-guilds, or Fraternities, which were afterwards styled Corporations, came first into general use in many parts of Europe. Mr. Madox thinks they were hardly known to our Saxon progenitors,

nitors, and that they might, probably, be brought into England by the Normans; and it is likely, that both French and Normans derived them from the free cities of Italy, where trade and manufactures were much earlier cultivated.

The laſt year of the eleventh century is generally fixed on by hiſtorians as the time of the formation of the famous Goodwin-ſands, on the coaſt of Kent, ſo dangerous and frequently fatal to ſhipping. It is ſaid, that all that tract of land, which at low water is now dry in the Downs, was, till then, firm or dry land; and, having once belonged to the famous Godwin, earl of Kent, took the name of Goodwin [Godwin] Sands. They were occaſioned by a violent inundation of the ſea, which, riſing to an unuſual height, ſwept away houſes with their inhabitants, cattle, and ſtores. Ever ſince which time the ſea has flowed over them every tide.

The Lombards, who inhabited the free cities of Italy, ſituated in the country which, at this day, bears the name of Lombardy, had great dealings in England, under the Norman kings, as bankers, or uſurers; and gave their names to a ſtreet in London, which it has ever ſince retained.

In the year 966 the town of Dunkirk, of which we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the more advanced periods of this work, was built by Baldwin, earl of Flanders.

But to return to our hiſtory.---Henry, who had ſecretly formed a deſign of adding Normandy to his crown, at laſt found an opportunity to attempt the execution of his deſign. Some of his nobles, who had fled into Normandy, had fallen upon the lands that belonged to the king, or ſome of his ſubjects; upon this the Norman nobility, finding duke Robert unwilling or unable to protect them, applied to king Henry for help. The king ſoon raiſed a powerful army, with which he ſailed for Normandy; where his

money was of as much or more ſervice than his arms, for he was ſo ſucceſsful in bribing the nobility and governors, that great part of the duchy revolted to him. The ſummer being over, he returned to England for more money and men. The next year the king embarked with another powerful army, accompanied by the principal nobility of the kingdom. He began firſt with the ſiege of Tinchebray, a town belonging to the earl of Montaign; but the place was ſo well defended, that he was obliged to change the ſiege into a blockade. He then built a fort, and left ſome ſoldiers in it; which the earl of Montaign ſoon after took by ſurpriſe; and, having put the garriſon to the ſword, relieved the town. Henry was ſo exaſperated at this, that he determined to take the town in defiance of the allies, and therefore once more beſieged it with his whole army. Montaign was ſo reſolutely bent on ſaving the place, that he uſed every argument to perſuade Robert and his confederate to riſk a battle, rather than ſuffer the town to be taken. A place of meeting being appointed, the confederate forces met, and then marched againſt the king. Henry had taken care not to be ſurpriſed, and was well prepared to receive them. A ſmart engagement enſued before the town, which ended in favour of the king, who entirely routed the combined forces of the enemy, of whom four hundred knights, and ten thouſand foot, were taken priſoners; among whom were ſeveral Norman barons, the duke of Normandy himſelf, and Edgar Atheling. The duke he ſent priſoner to England, but gave Edgar his liberty. The conſequence of this battle was that Henry became entire maſter of Normandy. Robert was henceforth deprived not only of all his dominions, but of his perſonal liberty. He lived twenty-eight years a priſoner, and died in the caſtle of Cardiff in Glamorganſhire. It is even ſaid by ſome, that he was deprived of his ſight by a red-hot copper ba-

ſon applied to his eyes, and that king Henry appeaſed his conſcience by founding the monaſtery of Reading.

The conqueſt of Normandy was completed in 1106; and next year the controverſy between the king and primate, concerning the inveſtiture of clergymen and their doing homage to princes, was reſumed. The king was very ſenſible that it was not his intereſt to quarrel with ſuch a powerful body as the clergy were at this time; and on the other hand he fully underſtood the neceſſity of guarding the prerogatives of the crown from their encroachments. While, therefore, he avoided an open rupture with Anſelm, he obſtinately refuſed to give up the privileges which had been enjoyed by his predeceſſors.

The quarrel continued between the king and primate, till the latter, ſenſible of his dangerous ſituation, deſired leave to make a journey to Rome, in order to lay the caſe before the pope. This permiſſion was eaſily obtained, but no ſooner was the primate gone, than Henry confiſcated all his revenues, and ſent another meſſenger to negociate with the pope. The new meſſenger told his holineſs, that his maſter would ſooner part with his crown than the right of granting inveſtitures. "And I (replied the pope) would rather loſe my head than allow him to retain it." This quarrel now became very dangerous to the king; as he was threatened by the pope with excommunication, which would have been attended with terrible conſequences. At laſt, however, a compromiſe was made in the following manner. Before biſhops took poſſeſſion of their dignities, they had formerly been accuſtomed to paſs through two ceremonials: they received, from the hands of the ſovereign, a ring and a croſier as the ſymbols of their office, and this was called their inveſtiture: they alſo made thoſe ſubmiſſions to the prince which were required of the vaſſals by the rites of the feudal law, and which received the name of homage. The pope, therefore, for the preſent was contented with

with Henry's reſigning the right of granting inveſtitures, by which the ſpiritual dignity was ſuppoſed to be conferred; and he allowed the biſhops to do homage for their temporal properties and privileges. After this, the pope allowed Anſelm to communicate with the prelates who had already received inveſtitures from the crown; and he only required of them ſome ſubmiſſions for their paſt conduct. He alſo granted to Anſelm a plenary power of remedying every diſorder which he ſaid might ariſe from the barbarouſneſs of the country. About the ſame time the marriage of prieſts was prohibited; and even laymen were not allowed to marry within the ſeventh degree of affinity. By this contrivance the pope augmented the profits which he reaped from granting diſpenſations, and likewiſe thoſe from divorces. For as the art of writing was then rare, and pariſh-regiſters were not regularly kept, it was not eaſy to aſcertain the degrees of affinity even among people of rank; and any man, who had money to pay for it, might obtain a divorce, on pretence that his wife was more nearly related to him than was permitted by the canons. A decree was alſo publiſhed, prohibiting the clergy to wear long hair; and the king, though he would not reſign his prerogatives to the church, very willingly cut his hair in the form which was required of him, obliging all the courtiers at the ſame time to follow his example.

From the time of this compromiſe, which happened in 1107, to the year 1120, nothing remarkable happened except ſome ſlight commotions in Normandy. Henry now remained in quiet poſſeſſion of his continental territories, and ſeemed exalted to a very eminent height of greatneſs and felicity. He had a ſon now ſixteen years of age; he had married his daughter, Matilda, to the emperor Henry IV. and reigned over a powerful and well-affected people. But human happineſs ever reſts on a precarious baſis; and one unexpected calamity overſpread the remainder of this king's

days with a heavy gloom. Upon his return to his kingdom, the ſhip which carried the prince, his ſon, and with him all the flower of the Engliſh nobility, having put out in the night from Barfleur, in Normandy, by the careleſſneſs of the maſter and ſailors, who were all drunk, ſtruck on a rock that lay concealed under the water, not far from the Norman ſhore. The prince got into the long-boat, and might eaſily have been ſaved, as the weather was calm; but, moved with the ſad cries of the young princeſs of Perche, his natural ſiſter, imploring him to take her into the boat, he commanded it to be rowed back again to the ſhip, when ſo many leaped into it, that it immediately ſunk; only one of the whole number on-board, amounting to two hundred perſons, eſcaped alive, to relate the circumſtances of this fatal event. The dead body of the prince was ſought for in vain. Even the conſolation of burying him was denied to his father. He had no grave but the ocean. At hearing this fatal news the king fainted; and it was ſome time before he recovered that compoſure of mind, which diſtinguiſhed his character, and had never been ruffled on any former occaſion: and ſo deeply rooted was his grief, that he never was ſeen to laugh afterwards, during the remainder of his life. It is very doubtful, however, whether the death of this prince was not an advantage to the Britiſh nation, ſince he was often heard to expreſs the utmoſt hatred to the natives; inſomuch that he had threatened, that, when he came to the throne, he would make them draw the plow, and would turn them into beaſts of burden. Theſe prepoſſeſſions he inherited from his father; who, though he was wont, when it might ſerve his purpoſes, to value himſelf on his birth as a native of England, ſhewed, in the courſe of his government, an extreme prejudice againſt that people. All hopes of preferment to eccleſiaſtical as well as civil dignities were denied to the Engliſh during this whole reign;

reign; and any foreigner, however ignorant or worthleſs, was ſure to have the preference in every competition. The charter formerly mentioned, which the king granted at the beginning of his reign, was no more thought of: and the whole fell ſo much into neglect and oblivion, that in the following century, when the barons, who had heard an obſcure tradition of it, deſired to make it the model of the great charter which they exacted from king John, they could only find one copy of it in the whole kingdom; while the grievances, propoſed to be redreſſed by it, continued ſtill in their full extent.

As Henry now had no legitimate children except Matilda, whom in 1110 he had betrothed, though only eight years of age, to the emperor of Germany, he was induced to marry a ſecond time in hopes of having ſons. He made his addreſſes accordingly to Adelais the daughter of Godfrey duke of Lovaine, and niece to Pope Calixtus; a young princeſs of an amiable perſon. But Adelais brought him no children; and in 1135 the king died, in Normandy, from eating too plentifully of lampreys; having lived ſixty-ſeven years, and reigned thirty-five.

By the will of king Henry, his daughter Matilda became heireſs of all his dominions. She had been married, after her firſt huſband's death, to Geoffrey Plantagenet, eldeſt ſon of the count of Anjou, by whom ſhe had a ſon named Henry; but, as Geoffrey had given umbrage to the king of England in ſeveral inſtances, no notice was taken of him in the will. The nobility had already ſworn fealty to her; and the foremoſt to ſhew this mark of ſubmiſſion to the king's will had been Stephen, ſon of the count of Blois (who had married Adela the daughter of William the Conqueror). He had been married to Matilda, daughter and heireſs of Euſtace count of Boulogne; who brought him, beſides that feudal ſovereignty of France, a vaſt property in England, which in the diſtribution of lands had

had been conferred by the Conqueror on the family of Boulogne. By this marriage Stephen acquired a new connection with the royal family of England: for Mary, his wife's mother, was ſiſter to David the preſent king of Scotland, and to Matilda the firſt wife of Henry and mother of the empreſs. The king alſo, imagining that by the aggrandizement of Stephen he ſtrengthened the intereſt of his own family, had enriched him with many poſſeſſions; but, inſtead of this, it appeared by the event that he had only put it more and more in his power to uſurp the throne.

No ſooner was Henry dead, than Stephen haſtened from Normandy into England. The citizens of Dover and Canterbury, apprized of his purpoſe, ſhut their gates againſt him; but, when he arrived at London, ſome of the lower claſs of people, inſtigated by his emiſſaries, immediately proclaimed him king. The archbiſhop of Canterbury refuſed to give him the royal unction; but this difficulty was got over by Stephen's brother the biſhop of Wincheſter. Hugh Bigod, ſteward of the houſehold, made oath before the primate, that the late king, on his death-bed, had diſcovered a diſſatisfaction with his daughter Matilda, and had expreſſed his intention of leaving the count of Boulogne heir to all his dominions; and the biſhop, either believing, or pretending to believe, this teſtimony, gave Stephen the royal unction. Very few of the nobility attended his coronation; but none oppoſed his uſurpation, however unjuſt and flagrant.

Stephen, in order to eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne as firmly as poſſible, paſſed a charter, in which he made liberal promiſes to all ranks of men. To the clergy he promiſed that he would ſpeedily fill all the vacant benefices, and never would levy any of the rents during the vacancy. To the nobility he gave liberty to hunt in their own foreſts; and to the people he promiſed to remit the tax of danegelt, and to reſtore the laws of Edward the Confeſſor. He ſeized the king's treaſure

treaſure at Wincheſter, amounting to £100,000; with part of which money he hired mercenary ſoldiers from the continent; and with another part procured a bull from the pope, confirming his title to the Engliſh throne.

In the very firſt year of his reign, the king having refuſed a favour to Baldwin Redvers, earl of Devon, he revolted, and put a garriſon into the caſtle of Exeter. Stephen, to ſuppreſs this inſurrection, marched with an army compoſed of Engliſh and Flemings, and beſieged Exeter, which made a brave and obſtinate defence, but was taken at laſt, and the earl and his family were baniſhed. As the Welſh had, upon the king's acceſſion, committed great ravages in the Engliſh marches, Stephen led his army from Exeter againſt them; but, his men being ſeized with a ſudden panic, he was defeated, and many of his troops tamely ſurrendered themſelves to the rebels. However, Stepheh appears to have had men enough left for another expedition; for we find, that, notwithſtanding this late defeat, David king of Scotland having invaded England, Stephen marched againſt him, but of this war few or no particulars remain; we are only told that the Scots took the cities of Carliſle and Newcaſtle. A peace was afterwards concluded upon theſe conditions: that the Scots ſhould keep Carliſle; and that Henry, the ſon of king David, ſhould have the earldom of Huntingdon, upon doing homage to king Stephen, which the father had honeſtly refuſed to hold upon that condition, as he had ſworn to the ſucceſſion of the empreſs Maud, the late Henry of England's daughter. But David obliged himſelf, by oath, never more to interfere in the quarrel between Stephen and Maud. This peace was made in 1139.

Matilda in the mean time endeavoured to recover her juſt rights, of which Stephen had deprived her; but for ſome time ſhe met with no ſucceſs either in England or Normandy. Her huſband Geoffroy himſelf was obliged

obliged to conclude a peace with Stephen, on condition of the king's paying him an annual penſion of £5000.

Robert Earl of Gloceſter was the firſt who ſhook the power of Stephen. He was natural ſon to the late king, a man of great honour and ability, and was very much attached to the intereſts of Matilda. When Stephen uſurped the throne, he offered to do him homage and take the oath of fealty; but with an expreſs condition, that the king ſhould maintain all his ſtipulations, and never invade any of Robert's rights or dignities. With this condition Stephen was obliged to comply, on account of the great power of that nobleman, though he knew that it was meant only to afford him a favourable opportunity of revolting when occaſion ſerved. The clergy imitated Robert's example; and annexed to their oath of allegiance the following condition, namely, that they were only bound as long as the king defended the eccleſiaſtical liberties, and ſupported the diſcipline of the church. The barons, in return for their ſubmiſſion, exacted terms of ſtill more pernicious tendency. Many of them required to have the right of fortifying their caſtles, and putring themſelves in a poſture of defence; and with this exorbitant demand the king was forced to comply. All England was immediately filled with theſe fortreſſes; which the noblemen garriſoned either with their vaſſals, or with licentious ſoldiers, who flocked to them from all quarters. The whole kingdom now became a ſcene of rapine and devaſtation. Wars were carried on by the nobles in every quarter; the barons even aſſumed the right of coining money, and of exerciſing, without appeal, every act of juriſdiction; and the inferior gentry, as well as the people, finding no defence from the laws during this total diſſolution of ſovereign authority, were obliged, for their immediate ſafety, to pay court to ſome neighbouring chieftain, and to purchaſe his protection, both by

ſubmitting to his exactions, and by aſſiſting him in his rapine upon others.

In 1137, the earl of Gloceſter, having projected an inſurrection, retired beyond ſea, ſent the king a defiance, and ſolemnly renounced his allegiance. The next year David king of Scotland appeared with an army in defence of his niece's title; and, penetrating into Yorkſhire, committed the greateſt devaſtations. He was defeated, however, with great ſlaughter, at Northallerton, by ſome of the northern barons, who had raiſed a powerful army; and this ſucceſs ſo much overawed the malcontents in England, that Stephen's power might have received ſome ſtability, had he not unfortunately engaged himſelf in a conteſt with the clergy. He had already ſeen the miſchief ariſing from the liberty he had granted of fortifying ſo many caſtles in different parts of the kingdom. He therefore determined to abridge this liberty as much as poſſible; and for that purpoſe he began with the caſtles erected by the clergy, who ſeemed to have leſs right to theſe military ſecurities than the barons. Taking advantage therefore of a fray which had ariſen at court between the retinue of the biſhop of Saliſbury and the earl of Britanny, he ſeized the biſhops both of Saliſbury and Lincoln, threw them into priſon, and obliged them to deliver up the caſtles which they had lately erected. This produced ſuch a violent commotion, that the opportunity ſeemed favourable to the pretenſions of Matilda. On the twenty-ſecond of September 1139, ſhe landed in England with Robert earl of Gloceſter, attended only by one hundred and forty knights; but her partizans daily increaſed, and ſhe was ſoon in a condition to face Stephen with equal forces in the field. War was ſpread through every quarter; and the turbulent barons having, in a great meaſure, ſhaken off all reſtraint of government, and now obtained the ſanction of fighting in the cauſe of their country, redoubled their oppreſſions, tyrannies, and devaſtations.

The caſtles of the nobility became receptacles of licenſed robbers; who, ſallying forth day and night, ſpoiled the open country, plundered the villages, and even cities. They tortured the captives to make them reveal their treaſures; ſold their perſons to ſlavery; and ſet fire to their houſes, after they had pillaged them of every thing valuable. In conſequence of this deſtruction, the land was left untilled; the inſtruments of huſbandry were abandoned; and a grievous famine reduced the nation to the moſt deplorable ſtate that can be imagined.

After a multitude of indeciſive conflicts, a battle enſued which ſeemed likely to enſure the public peace for ſome time. Stephen marching to Lincoln, where the empreſs was, ſhe abandoned the place, which was ſoon taken poſſeſſion of by the king's troops, but quitted immediately, as being of little conſequence ſince the empreſs had got away. But, receiving advice that the earl of Gloceſter had entered Lincoln, he returned back; yet not ſo quick but that the earl had got away firſt. However, his wife and children were very near being taken, who upon the king's blocking up the place had retired into the caſtle, had not the earl of Gloceſter, aſſiſted by Randulf, haſtened there. As their approach was unexpected, the king, his forces being inferior in number, was not able to retreat. The two armies engaged on the ſecond of February within ſight of the city, and a deſperate battle enſued. At laſt Stephen's army was defeated. He himſelf was for ſome time left without attendants; and fought on foot in the midſt of his enemies, aſſaulted by multitudes, and reſiſting all their efforts with aſtoniſhing intrepidity. Being hemmed in on every ſide, he forced a way for ſome time with his battle-axe; but, that breaking, he drew his ſword, and with it furiouſly aſſailed his antagoniſts for ſome time longer. But at length, the ſword alſo flying in pieces, he was obliged to ſurrender himſelf a priſoner. He was conducted to Gloceſter; and,

and, though at firſt treated with reſpect, he was in a ſhort time, upon ſome ſuſpicions, thrown into irons.

About a month after, Matilda was crowned at Wincheſter with great ſolemnity; but ſoon ſhewed herſelf totally incapable of governing ſuch a turbulent nation. She determined to repreſs the power of the nobles, who had now only left the ſhadow of authority to their ſovereign. But, being deſtitute of policy or prudence ſufficient to accompliſh ſo difficult an undertaking, a conſpiracy was ſoon formed againſt her, and the biſhop of Wincheſter detached a party of his friends and vaſſals to block up the city of London where the queen reſided. At the ſame time meaſures were taken to inſtigate the Londoners to a revolt, and to ſeize the queen's perſon. Matilda, having timely notice of this conſpiracy, fled to Wincheſter. Here ſhe was ſoon after beſieged by the biſhop: but, the town being diſtreſſed by famine, ſhe with difficulty made her eſcape; while her brother the earl of Gloceſter, endeavouring to follow, was taken priſoner, and exchanged for Stephen.

Matilda was now obliged to take ſhelter in Oxford, while Stephen re-aſcended the throne. The civil war broke out with redoubled fury. Many battles were fought, and both parties were involved in many diſtreſſes. Matilda eſcaped from Oxford, at a time when the fields were covered with ſnow, by being dreſſed all in white, with four knights her attendants dreſſed in the ſame colour. Another time Stephen was ſurpriſed by the earl of Gloceſter at Wilton, and made his eſcape with the utmoſt difficulty. At laſt Matilda was obliged to quit the kingdom; and the death of the earl of Gloceſter ſoon after ſeemed to give a fatal blow to her intereſts. In 1153, however, prince Henry, Matilda's ſon by her ſecond huſband Geoffrey Plantagenet, came over to England, in order once more to diſpute Stephen's pretenſions to the crown. After ſome ſucceſs on his firſt landing, he was oppoſed by Stephen with a powerful army, and matters ſeemed likely to

come to the decision of a general engagement. But, while the two armies continued within a quarter of a mile of each other, a treaty was set on foot by the interposition of William earl of Arundel, for terminating the dispute in an amicable manner. The death of Eustace, Stephen's son, whom he had designed for the throne, which happened during the course of the treaty, facilitated its conclusion. It was agreed, that Stephen should reign during his life, and that justice should be administered in his name; that Henry, on Stephen's death, should succeed to the kingdom; and that William, Stephen's son, should inherit Boulogne and his patrimonial estate. This treaty (an authentic copy of which is preserved in Holinshead's Chronicle, and in no other writer) filled all Europe with joy; and, after the barons had sworn to it, Henry left England, and Stephen returned to the peaceable enjoyment of his throne. His reign, however, was but of a short continuance; his death happening on the twenty-fifth of October, 1154.

Of the Wars of England from the Commencement of the Plantagenets to the Death of King John.

HENRY PLANTAGENET had the advantage of being descended both from the Saxon and Norman kings of England; but still he had not an hereditary right to the kingdom, by a lineal and regular course of succession from the Saxon royal family; for, after the death of Edgar Atheling, it would have devolved to David, king of Scotland, and to his posterity after him, as descended from the elder female branch of the Saxon line. Notwithstanding this want of hereditary right, Henry's relationship to the Saxon royal blood fully capacitated him to succeed to the government, according to the ancient customs of England.

Henry was on the continent beſieging a caſtle of one of the mutinous barons, when news was brought him of Stephen's death. But, as he was ſenſible of the goodneſs of his title, he did not abandon his enterpriſe till the place was reduced. He then ſet out on his journey, and was received in England with the utmoſt joy. The firſt acts of his reign ſeemed to promiſe an happy and proſperous adminiſtration. He inſtantly diſmiſſed the mercenary ſoldiers, who had committed the greateſt diſorders throughout the nation. He ordered all the caſtles which had been erected ſince the death of Henry I. to be demoliſhed, except a few which he retained in his own hands for the protection of the kingdom. The adulterated coin which had been ſtruck during the reign of Stephen was cried down, and new money ſtruck of the right value and ſtandard. He reſumed many of thoſe benefactions which had been made to churches and monaſteries in the former reigns. He gave charters to ſeveral towns, by which the citizens claimed their freedom and privileges independent of any ſuperior but himſelf. Theſe charters were the ground-work of the Engliſh liberty; for thus a new order, namely, the more opulent of the people, began to claim a ſhare in the adminiſtration, as well as the nobility and clergy. Thus the feudal government was at firſt impaired; and liberty began to be more equally diffuſed throughout the nation.

Henry II. on his acceſſion to the Engliſh throne, found himſelf poſſeſſed of very extenſive dominions on the continent. In the right of his father he poſſeſſed Anjou, Touraine, and Maine; in that of his mother, Normandy; in that of his wife, Guienne, Poictou, Xaintogne, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoulmois, and the Limouſin. Soon after, he annexed Brittany to his other ſtates, by marrying his ſon, who was yet a child, to the heireſs of Brittany, who was a child alſo, and was already in poſſeſſion of the ſuperiority over

over that province. Theſe territories compoſed above a third of the French monarchy, and were by far the moſt opulent part of it; ſo that Henry, though vaſſal to the king of France, was greatly ſuperior to him in power: and, when England was added to all theſe, the French king had great reaſon to apprehend ſome diſaſter to himſelf and family. The king of England, however, reſided at too great a diſtance to be able to employ this formidable power with ſucceſs againſt the French monarch. He ſoon became a kind of ſtranger in his continental dominions; and his ſubjects there conſidered their allegiance as more naturally due to their ſuperior lord, who lived in their neighbourhood, and who was acknowledged to be the ſupreme head of their nation. Their immediate lord was often at too great a diſtance to protect them; and a commotion in any part of Henry's extenſive dominions gave great advantages againſt him. The wiſe and vigorous adminiſtration of Henry, however, counterbalanced in a great meaſure theſe diſadvantages; and he maintained a ſurpriſing tranquillity throughout his extenſive dominions during the greateſt part of his reign.

The firſt war which happened in this king's reign was begun by the Welſh, who watched every opportunity to quit their own barren mountains for the fruitful countries of England. This was the caſe now, upon which king Henry marched in perſon againſt them. The Welſh, as was their uſual cuſtom, retreated into their mountains, and other inacceſſible parts of the country. However, the van of the king's army followed them, but unhappily fell into an ambuſcade, and a great part of them were cut off. This threw the Engliſh army into the utmoſt confuſion; and Henry de Eſſex, hereditary ſtandard-bearer, was ſo greatly intimidated, that he flung down the royal ſtandard, and ran away, declaring the king himſelf was killed. But Henry, ſoon after appearing, gave his men freſh ſpirits, renewed the attack with ſo much bravery and ſucceſs, that

that the Welſh were glad to treat with the king, and concluded peace on his own conditions. They gave up ſeveral caſtles that defended the principal paſſes, and the nobility ſubmitted to do homage and ſwear fealty to the king. After this Henry ordered ways to be cut through the woods, that his armies might, upon any future occaſions, have a ready paſſage through them.

Henry found no great difficulty in circumſcribing the power of the barons; but, when he attempted to do the ſame thing with the clergy, he met with the moſt violent oppoſition. That body had carried their independence on the civil power ſo far, that now they ſeemed to aim at nothing leſs than a liberty to commit all manner of crimes with impunity. During the reign of Stephen, they had extorted an immunity from all but eccleſiaſtical penalties: which was called Benefit of Clergy, whereby they were exempt from all criminal proſecutions; and this grant they were reſolved to maintain for the future. It may eaſily be ſuppoſed, that a law which thus ſcreened their wickedneſs contributed to increaſe it; and we accordingly find upon record not leſs than one hundred murders committed by men in holy orders in a ſhort period ſince the king's acceſſion, not one of which was puniſhed even with degradation; while the biſhops themſelves ſeemed to glory in this horrid indulgence. The king did not make any attempts againſt them during the life of Theobald archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was a man of a mild character, and beſides had great merit, becauſe, during the former reign, he had refuſed to put the crown on the head of Euſtace, Stephen's ſon. He died in 1162; and the king, after his death, advanced to the ſee of Canterbury Thomas a Becket, his chancellor, on whoſe compliance he thought he might entirely depend.

The new archbiſhop was the firſt man of Engliſh pedigree who ſince the Norman conqueſt had riſen

to

to any considerable station. Before his instalment in the see of Canterbury, Becket had been exceedingly complaisant, good-humoured, and agreeable, to his master; and had always been accustomed to live very freely. But no sooner was he invested with this high dignity, than he totally altered his conduct, and put on all those airs of affected and ostentatious humility which could recommend him to the superstitious and ignorant multitude in that age. The first step taken by this hypocrite after his advancement was to resign the office of chancellor. This he did without consulting the king: the reason he gave was, that henceforth he must detach himself from secular affairs, and be solely employed in the duties of his sacred function; but, in reality, that he might break off all connexion with Henry. As he knew that the king intended to abridge the ecclesiastical power, he thought the best method would be to become himself the aggressor. He therefore summoned the earl of Clare to surrender the barony of Tunbridge; which, ever since the conquest, had remained in the family of that nobleman; but which, as it had formerly belonged to the see of Canterbury, the primate pretended that his predecessors were prohibited by the canons from alienating.--- William de Eynsford, a military tenant of the crown, was patron of a living which belonged to a manor that held of the archbishop of Canterbury; and Becket, without regard to William's right, presented, on a new and illegal pretence, one Laurence to that living, who was violently expelled by Eynsford. Upon this, Eynsford was excommunicated. He complained to the king, that he, who held *in capite* of the crown, should, contrary to the practice established by the conqueror and maintained ever since by his successors, be subjected to that terrible sentence without the previous consent of the sovereign. Henry, by a messenger, commanded Becket to absolve Eynsford. The haughty primate answered, that it belonged not to the king to

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inform him whom he ſhould abſolve, and whom excommunicate; but, after all, he was obliged to comply with the king's orders, though with the worſt grace imaginable.

As Henry perceived that the crown was now in danger, through the ſuperſtition of the people, of falling totally under the power of the clergy, he reſolved to exert himſelf to the utmoſt againſt their ſcandalous uſurpations. Among their other inventions to obtain money, they had now inculcated the neceſſity of penance as an atonement for ſin; and, having again introduced the practice of paying them large ſums as an equivalent for theſe penances, the ſins of the people had thus become a revenue to the prieſts; and the king computed, that, by this invention alone, they levied more money from his ſubjects than what flowed by all the funds and taxes into the royal exchequer. To eaſe the people of ſo heavy and arbitrary an impoſition, the king required, that a civil officer of his appointment ſhould be preſent in all eccleſiaſtical courts, and ſhould for the future give his conſent to every compoſition made for ſpiritual offences. About this time alſo the king had an opportunity of proceeding againſt the clergy on another footing. A clerk in Worceſterſhire, having debauched a gentleman's daughter, murdered her father. The king required that the clerk ſhould be delivered up to the magiſtrate. Becket pleaded the privileges of the church; confined the criminal in the biſhop's priſon, leſt he ſhould be ſeized by the king's officers; and maintained that no greater puniſhment could be inflicted on him than degradation. The king then required, that, immediately after he was degraded, he ſhould be tried by the civil powers; but the primate aſſerted, that it was iniquitous to try a man twice upon the ſame accuſation and for the ſame crime. Upon this, Henry ſummoned an aſſembly of all the prelates in England; and put to them this deciſive queſtion, Whether or not they were willing to

ſubmit to the ancient laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom? The biſhops unanimouſly replied, that they were willing, *ſaving their own order*. The king was provoked to the laſt degree at this equivocal anſwer. He left the aſſembly with evident marks of diſpleaſure; and required the primate inſtantly to ſurrender the caſtles of Eye and Berkham. The other prelates were terrified; but Becket continued inflexible: however, he was at laſt prevailed upon, by the interpoſition of Philip the pope's legate and almoner, to retract the ſaving clauſe, and promiſe without any reſerve to obſerve the ancient cuſtoms.

The king was not now to be ſatisfied with general promiſes from the clergy. He was determined that the ancient laws and cuſtoms ſhould be defined, as well as the privileges of the clergy. He therefore ſummoned another great council of the clergy and nobility at Clarendon, to whom he ſubmitted this important affair. A number of regulations were there drawn up, which were afterwards well known by the title of the *Conſtitutions of Clarendon*. By theſe it was enacted, that clergymen accuſed of any crime ſhould be tried in the civil courts; that laymen ſhould not be tried in ſpiritual courts, except by legal and reputable witneſſes; that the king ſhould ultimately judge in eccleſiaſtical and ſpiritual appeals; that the archbiſhops and biſhops ſhould be regarded as barons, and obliged to contribute to the public expences like other perſons of their rank; that the goods forfeited to the king ſhould not be protected in churches or churchyards by the clergy; and that the ſons of villeins ſhould not take orders without the conſent of their lord. Theſe, with ſome others of leſs conſequence, to the number of ſixteen, were ſubſcribed by all the biſhops preſent, and even by Becket himſelf; who, at firſt, ſhewed ſome reluctance.

Nothing now remained but to get the conſtitutions ratified by the pope; but in this the king was diſappointed.

pointed. The pope rejected them with the utmoſt indignation; and, out of ſixteen, admitted only ſix, which he thought were not important enough to deſerve cenſure.---Becket was now mortified to the higheſt degree. He retracted his conſent to the conſtitutions, redoubled his auſterities, and even refuſed to execute any part of his ſacerdotal function till he had obtained abſolution from his holineſs. Henry, conſidering theſe humilities as inſults offered to himſelf, deſired the pope to ſend him a legate. He did ſo; but, annexed a clauſe to his commiſſion, by which he was prohibited from acting againſt the archbiſhop of Canterbury. The king ſent back the commiſſion to the pope; and, being now exaſperated beyond all patience, commenced furious proſecutions againſt Becket. He firſt ſued him for ſome lands belonging to his primacy; and, Becket being detained by ſickneſs from coming into court, his non-attendance was conſtrued into diſreſpect. The primate afterwards defended his cauſe in perſon; but all his goods and chattels were confiſcated, and the biſhop of Wincheſter was obliged to pronounce the ſentence. Another ſuit was commenced againſt him for three hundred pounds, which he had levied on the honours of Eye and Berkham; and the primate agreed to give ſecurities for the payment of the ſum. The next day a third ſuit was commenced againſt him for one thouſand marks, which the king had lent him on ſome former occaſions: and, immediately upon the back of theſe, a ſtill greater demand was made; namely, that Becket ſhould give an account of the money he had received and expended during the time he was chancellor. The money was computed at no leſs than forty thouſand marks; and the primate, unable either to give an account or find ſecurities, took the following extraordinary method of evading the king's deſigns. He arrayed himſelf in his epiſcopal veſtments; and, with the croſs in his hand, went forward to the palace. Having entered the royal apartments, he ſat

down, holding up the croſs as his banner and protection. The king, who ſat in an inner apartment, ordered by proclamation all the prelates and nobility to attend him; to whom he loudly complained of Becket's inſolence. The whole council joined in condemning this inſtance of his unaccountable pride; and determined to expoſtulate with him about this inconſiſtency concerning the conſtitutions of Clarendon. But all their meſſages, threats, and arguments, were to no purpoſe. Becket put himſelf in the moſt ſolemn manner under the protection of the ſupreme pontiff, and appealed to him againſt any penalty which his iniquitous judges might think proper to inflict. Then, leaving the palace, he aſked the king's immediate permiſſion to quit Northampton; but, being refuſed, ſecretly withdrew in diſguiſe, and at laſt found means to croſs over to the continent.

Becket was received with the greateſt marks of eſteem, firſt by the king of France (who hated Henry on account of his great power), and then by the pope, whoſe cauſe he had ſo ſtrenuouſly defended in England. Henry at the ſame time ſent ambaſſadors to the pope, who were treated with coolneſs and contempt, while Becket was honoured with the greateſt marks of diſtinction. Theſe favours beſtowed upon an exile and a perjured traitor (for ſuch had been Becket's ſentence of condemnation in England), irritated the king to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved to throw off at once all dependance upon the pope. He accordingly iſſued out orders to his juſticiaries; inhibiting, under ſevere penalties, all appeals to the pope or the archbiſhop; and forbidding any of them to receive mandates from them or to apply to their authority. He declared it treaſonable to bring over from either of them any interdict upon the kingdom. This he made puniſhable in ſecular clergymen by the loſs of their livings and by caſtration; in regulars, by the amputation of their feet; and, in laymen, by death. On the other hand,

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the pope and the archbiſhop did not fail to iſſue forth their fulminations in ſuch a manner as to ſhake the very foundation of the king's authority. Becket excommunicated by name all the king's chief miniſters who had been concerned in ſequeſtrating the revenues of his ſee, and all who obeyed or favoured the conſtitutions of Clarendon. He even threatened to excommunicate the king if he did not ſpeedily repent; and, had not the pope himſelf been threatened every day with the machinations of an antipope, whoſe pretenſions he was afraid the king of England might ſupport, the ſentence of excommunication would certainly have been denounced.

At firſt, Henry paid little regard to theſe fulminations; but afterwards, when he found that his authority over his ſubjects began to decline on that account, and that his rivals on the continent were endeavouring to diſturb the tranquillity of his dominions, he began ſincerely to deſire a reconciliation. This the pope and Becket alſo became deſirous of, becauſe they ſaw that their utmoſt endeavours were inſufficient to draw Henry's ſubjects into a revolt againſt him. The treaty of accommodation, however, was often broken off, through the extreme jealouſy of each of the parties: but at length, by the mediation of the pope's legate, all differences were adjuſted, and Becket was reinſtated in the ſee of Canterbury.

On the recovery of his dignity, the primate behaved with all his uſual arrogance. Inſtead of retiring quietly to his dioceſe when he landed in England, he made a progreſs through Kent with all the ſplendour and magnificence of a ſovereign pontiff. As he approached Southwark, the clergy, the laity, and all ranks of people, came forth to meet him, and celebrated his triumphal entry with hymns of joy. Being thus confident of the ſupport of the people, he reſolved to make his enemies feel the ſevereſt effects of his vengeance. He ſuſpended the archbiſhop of York, who

who had crowned Henry's eldeſt ſon in his abſence. He excommunicated the biſhops of London and Saliſbury, with ſome of the principal nobility and prelates who had aſſiſted at the coronation. One man he excommunicated for having ſpoken againſt him, and another for having cut off the tail of one of his horſes. The excommunicated and degraded prelates immediately made their complaints to the king; and he having dropped ſome paſſionate expreſſions, intimating a deſire to have Becket's life taken away, the ſuppoſed will of the king was inſtantly accompliſhed; nor could Henry's expreſs orders to the contrary arrive time enough to hinder the execution of this fatal purpoſe.

The king was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation on hearing of Becket's murder. He knew that this primate's death would accompliſh what his moſt violent oppoſition during his life could never have done, and therefore he gave himſelf up to ſorrow; for three days he even refuſed all nouriſhment; till at laſt his courtiers were obliged to break in upon his ſolitude, and induce him to acquieſce in an event which could not poſſibly be recalled. The pope was with ſome difficulty made ſenſible of the king's innocence; but refuſed to grant him a pardon, except on condition that he ſhould make every future ſubmiſſion and perform every injunction the holy ſee thought proper to demand. When things were thus adjuſted, the aſſaſſins who had murdered Becket were allowed to retire in ſafety to the enjoyment of their former dignities; and the king, with a view to divert the minds of the people to a different object, undertook the

CONQUEST OF IRELAND.

THE real motives which induced this monarch to think of an expedition againſt Ireland are not well known. It was ſuppoſed that he had been provoked

by ſome aſſiſtance with the Iriſh princes had given to the French; but, whatever might be in this, it is certain that the deſign was conceived ſoon after he aſcended the throne; and his flatterers ſoon furniſhed him with ſufficient reaſons for conſidering the Iriſh as his ſubjects. It was affirmed that they had originally poſſeſſed themſelves of their country by permiſſion of Gurguntius a Britiſh king; and that, as deſcendants of the Britons, they were the natural and rightful ſubjects of the Engliſh monarch. It was alſo ſuggeſted, that the renowned king Arthur, Egfred the Northumbrian prince, and Edgar one of the Saxon kings of England, had all led their armies into Ireland, and there made valuable acquiſitions, which their ſucceſſor was in honour bound to recover and maintain. All theſe ſuggeſtions, however, or whatever elſe had occurred to himſelf, ſeemed yet inſufficient to Henry; and therefore he took the moſt effectual method to enſure his reputation, namely, by an application to the pope. To him he repreſented, that the inhabitants of Ireland were ſunk into the moſt wretched ſtate of corruption, both with regard to morals and religion; that Henry, zealous for the honour and enlargement of God's kingdom, had conceived the pious deſign of erecting it in this unhappy country; was ready to devote himſelf and all his powers to this meritorious ſervice; implored the benediction of the pontiff, and requeſted his permiſſion and authority to enter Ireland, to reduce the diſobedient and corrupt, to eradicate all ſin and wickedneſs, to inſtruct the ignorant, and ſpread the bleſſed influence of the goſpel in all its purity and perfection; promiſing at the ſame time to pay a yearly tribute to St. Peter from the land thus to be reduced to his obedience, and to the holy ſee. Adrian, the reigning pope, rejoiced at this application, which tended ſo much to the advancement of his own power. A bull was therefore immediately formed, conformable to the moſt ſanguine wiſhes of Henry,

which

which was sent to England without delay, together with a ring, the token of his investiture as rightful sovereign of Ireland.

The state of Ireland was at this time extremely favourable for an invasion. The monarch enjoyed little more than a titular dignity, being harrassed by a faction and opposed by powerful rivals. A number of chieftains, who assumed the title and rights of royalty, paid a precarious tribute to their superior, and united, if they were disposed to unite, with him, rather as his allies than his subjects. In Ulster, the family of the northern *Hi Nial*, as it was called, exercised an hereditary jurisdiction over the counties now called Tyrone, Derry, and Donnegal. They also claimed a right of supremacy over the lords of Fermanagh, Antrim, and Argial, which included the counties of Armagh, Monaghan, Lowth, and some adjacent districts: while Dunleve, prince of Uladh (now Down), disputed the superiority of this family, and affected an independent state. In Munster reigned the descendants of Brien, a famous sovereign of former times, impatient to recover the honours of their family; but at last, being confined by powerful rivals to the territory of North Munster, they were obliged to leave the family of Mac Arthy sovereigns of Desmond, the southern division. In Connaught, the princes known by the name of *O'Connor* were acknowledged sovereigns of the eastern territory. Tiernan O'Ruarc, an active and restless military chief, had the supremacy in Breffney, containing the modern county of Leitrim, and some adjacent districts. Meath, or the southern Hi Nial, was subject to the family of Clan-Colman, Murchard O'Maiachlyn, and his successors. Leinster, divided into several principalities, was subject to Dermod, a fierce, haughty, and oppressive, tyrant. His father had governed with great cruelty: seventeen of his vassal lords had been either put to death, or had their eyes put out, by his order, in one year;

year; and Dermod seemed to inherit too great a portion of the same temper. His stature and bodily strength made him admired by the inferior orders of his subjects, and these he was careful to protect and favour. His donations and endowments of religious houses recommended him to the clergy; but his tributary chieftains felt the weight of his pride and tyranny, and to them his government was extremely odious. The chief competitors for the rank of monarch of Ireland, in the mean time, were, the heirs of the two houses of O'Connor, and the northern Hi-Nial. Torlogh O'Connor was in possession; but he was not generally recognised, and was opposed by his rival O'Lochlan: notwithstanding which, he maintained his dignity with magnificence and vigour, till a decisive victory gained by him over O'Brien raised O'Lochlan's jealousy so much, that he obliged him in a convention of the states to allow him the sovereignty of the northern division. In consequence of this partition, it was resolved to transfer the territory of O'Ruarc to a person more inclined to the interests of the two sovereigns. An expedition was accordingly undertaken; O'Ruarc was surprised, defeated, and driven from his dominions. Dermod, who had conceived an unlawful passion for Dervorghal, the wife of O'Ruarc, took the opportunity of her husband's distresses to carry her off in triumph. O'Ruarc conceived the most implacable resentment against Dermod; and therefore, applying himself to Torlogh, promised an inviolable attachment to his interest; and prevailed on him not only to reinstate him in his possessions, but to revenge the insult offered by Dermod, and to restore his wife. By means of such a powerful ally, O'Ruarc found frequent opportunities of harrassing his antagonist till the death of Torlogh, which happened in 1156, upon which O'Lochlan succeeded to the sovereignty. Dermod was the first to acknowledge the authority of this new sovereign, by whose means he hoped to be able to re-

venge himself on O'Ruarc. He soon found, however, that he had acted too precipitately. His patron having treacherously seized and put out the eyes of Dunleve prince of Down, the neighbouring chieftains took arms, in order to secure themselves from his barbarity. O'Lochlan was defeated and killed; upon which the monarchy devolved on Roderic the son of the late Torlogh O'Connor.

The new prince had acquired the reputation of valour, and was determined to establish this reputation by some remarkable exploit at the beginning of his reign. Having therefore engaged in his service the Ostmen, or descendants of the Danes, he marched against Dermod as the chief partizan of his fallen rival. The king of Leinster was seized with the utmost consternation; and in despair set fire to his own town of Ferns, lest the enemy should have the satisfaction of spoiling it. Roderic still advanced, attended by O'Ruarc, Dermod's implacable enemy, and soon over-ran the whole province. All the inferior lords at once acknowledged Roderic's authority. Dermod was deposed, as a man utterly unworthy of his station; another of his family was raised to the throne; and the unfortunate prince, finding it impossible to stay with safety in Ireland, embarked with sixty of his followers for England, and soon arrived at the port of Bristol, with a design to solicit assistance from King Henry. In England, Dermod's character was unknown, and he was regarded as an injured prince driven from his throne by an iniquitous confederacy. The clergy received him as the benefactor of their order, and entertained him in the monastery of Augustines with great hospitality. Having learned that Henry was then in Aquitain, he immediately went thither, and in a very abject manner implored his assistance, promising to acknowledge him as his liege lord, and to hold his dominions, which he was thus confident of regaining, in vassallage to Henry and his heirs. Though nothing could

could be more flattering to the ambition of the king of England than this ſervile addreſs, yet the ſituation of his own affairs rendered it impoſſible for him at that time to reap from it any of the advantages with which it flattered him. He therefore diſmiſſed the Iriſh prince with large preſents, and a letter of credence addreſſed to all his ſubjects; notifying his grace and protection granted to the king of Leinſter; and declaring, that whoſoever within his dominions ſhould be diſpoſed to aid the unfortunate prince in the recovery of his kingdom might be aſſured of his free licence and royal favour. Dermod returned to England highly pleaſed with the reception he had met with; but, notwithſtanding the king's letter, none of the Engliſh ſeemed to be diſpoſed to try their fortunes in Ireland. A month elapſed without any proſpect of ſuccour, ſo that Dermod began to deſpair. At laſt, however, he perſuaded, with great promiſes, Richard earl of Chepſtow, or, as it was formerly called, *Strigul*, a nobleman of conſiderable influence in Wales, but of broken fortune, to aſſiſt him with a conſiderable force to be tranſported next ſpring into Ireland. Overjoyed at this firſt inſtance of ſucceſs, he advanced into South Wales, where, by the influence of the biſhop of St. David's, he procured many other friends. Robert Fitz-Stephen, a brave and experienced officer, covenanted with him to engage in his ſervice with all his followers, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald his maternal brother; while Dermod, on his part, promiſed to cede to the two principal leaders, Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald, the entire dominion of the town of Wexford, with a large adjoining territory, as ſoon as by their aſſiſtance he ſhould be reinſtated in his rights. The Iriſh prince, having now accompliſhed his purpoſe, ſet ſail for Ireland in the winter of 1169, and recovered a ſmall part of his dominions even before the arrival of his new allies; but, being attacked with a ſuperior force by his old enemies Roderic and O'Ruarc, he found himſelf obliged to feign

ſubmiſſion till the Engliſh allies came to his aſſiſtance. The expected ſuccours arrived in the month of May 1170, in a creek called the *Bann*, near the city of Wexford. Robert Fitz-Stephen commanded thirty knights, ſixty men in armour, and three hundred archers. With theſe came Harvey of Mountmorris, nephew to earl Richard. He had no military force along with him; but came ſolely with a view of diſcovering the nature of the country, and reporting it to his uncle. Maurice of Pendergaſt commanded ten knights and two hundred archers: and thus the Engliſh force which was to contend with the whole ſtrength of Ireland amounted to no more than ſix hundred men. Trifling as this aſſiſtance may ſeem, it nevertheleſs changed the face of affairs almoſt inſtantaneouſly. Numbers of Dermod's ſubjects, who had abandoned him in his diſtreſs, now flocked to his ſtandard. Wexford was immediately attacked, and ſurrendered in a few days; Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald were jointly inveſted with the lordſhip of this city and its domain; and Harvey of Mountmorris was declared lord of two conſiderable diſtricts on the coaſt. After three or four weeks ſpent in feaſting and rejoicing, a new expedition was undertaken againſt the prince of Oſſory (a diſtrict of Leinſter), who had not only revolted from Dermod, but put out the eyes of one of his ſons, and that with ſuch cruelty, that the unhappy youth expired under the operation. The allied army was now increaſed to three thouſand men, who were oppoſed by the prince of Oſſory at the head of five thouſand, ſtrongly entrenched among woods and moraſſes. By the ſuperior conduct of the Engliſh troops, however, the Iriſh were decoyed from their advantageous ſituation, and thus were entirely defeated. The Engliſh were for keeping the field till they had totally reduced their enemies: but Dermod, accuſtomed only to ravage and plunder, contented himſelf with deſtroying the country; and a ſudden reverſe of fortune ſeemed ready to take

take place. The prince of Oſſory, though defeated, ſtill appeared in arms, and only waited for an opportunity of again oppoſing the enemy in the field. Maurice Pendergaſt alſo joined him with his whole troop, being provoked by Dermod, who had refuſed him leave to return to Wales. This defection, however, was in part ſupplied by the arrival of Fitz-Gerald with ten knights, thirty horſemen, and one hundred archers. Pendergaſt in a ſhort time repented of his new alliance, and retired into Wales; ſo that the prince was obliged to make his ſubmiſſion to Dermod, which the latter with ſome reluctance accepted.

In the mean time, Roderic, having ſettled all his other affairs, advanced againſt the allies with a powerful army. Dermod was thrown into deſpair; but, encouraged by Fitz-Stephen, he encamped in a very ſtrong ſituation, where he was ſoon beſieged by Roderic. The latter, however, dreading the valour of the Engliſh, condeſcended to treat firſt with them, and then with Dermod, in order to detach them from the intereſts of each other: but, as this proceeded evidently from fear, his offers were rejected by both parties; upon which he began to prepare for battle; but, at the very time when the engagement ſhould have commenced, either through the ſuggeſtions of his clergy, or of his own fears, Roderic entered into a new negociation; which at laſt terminated in a peace. The terms were, that Dermod ſhould acknowledge the ſupremacy of Roderic, and pay him ſuch ſervice as the monarchs of Ireland had uſually received from inferior princes; and, as a ſecurity for his faithful performance of this article, he delivered up his favourite ſon as an hoſtage to Roderic: but, in order to eſtabliſh this accommodation on the firmeſt baſis, the latter obliged himſelf to give his daughter in marriage to the young prince as ſoon as Leinſter ſhould be reduced, and the peace of the iſland effectually reſtored. By a ſecret article, Dermod engaged to diſmiſs the Britiſh forces immediately after

after the ſettlement of his own province, and in the mean time not to bring over any further reinforcements from England.

Thus ended the firſt Britiſh expedition into Ireland; the conſequences of which were ſo little dreaded at that time by the natives, that their hiſtorians, though they dwell upon the principal wars and conteſts in other parts of the iſland, ſpeak of the ſettlement of the Welſhmen in Leinſter with a careleſs indifference. But, though the ſettlement of this colony ſeemed very little alarming to the generality, it could not eſcape the obſervation of diſcerning perſons, that a man of Dermod's character would not long keep his treaties; and that on the firſt emergency he would have recourſe to his former allies, who thus would eſtabliſh themſeves more and more, till at laſt they would reduce the country entirely under their ſubjection. Theſe reflections, if any ſuch were then made, were in a ſhort time verified. Dermod was ſcarce ſettled in his own dominions, when he began to aſpire at the ſovereignty, and form ſchemes for dethroning Roderic. He applied to Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald; by whom he was again directed to apply to Richard earl of Chepſtow, more commonly known by the name of *Strongbow*, on account of his feats of archery. Richard was very much inclined to accept of his invitation; but thought it incumbent upon him firſt to obtain the conſent of king Henry. The king, however, did not incline that his ſubjects ſhould make conqueſts for themſelves in any other country, and therefore diſmiſſed Richard with an equivocal anſwer; but the latter, being willing to underſtand his ſovereign's words in the moſt favourable ſenſe, immediately ſet about the neceſſary preparations for his expedition. In May 1171, Raymond le Groſs, Richard's domeſtic friend, and the near relation of Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald, landed at a place called *Dondonalf*, near Waterford, with ten knights and ſeventy archers; and along with them came Harvey of Mountmorris,

Mountmorris, attended by a ſmall train. The Engliſh immediately entrenched themſelves, and erected a temporary fort for themſelves; which proved a very neceſſary precaution; for the natives, juſtly attributing this new debarkation to the practices of Dermod, inſtantly formed a tumultuous army, and marched to expel the invaders. The Engliſh prepared to meet them; but, when they perceived the great ſuperiority of the enemy, they thought proper to retire to their fort. Here, however, they muſt have been totally cut off, had they not luckily collected a numerous herd of cattle from the neighbouring country for their ſubſiſtence. Theſe they drove with fury among the Iriſh, who were thus put into the utmoſt confuſion. The invaders ſeized the favourable moment; and, falling upon their diſordered enemies, put them to flight, and drove great numbers of them into the ſea, where they periſhed. Seventy priſoners were taken, all of them principal citizens of Waterford; who, though they offered large ſums for their ranſom, and even that the city ſhould be delivered up to the Engliſh, were all barbarouſly put to death. This ſucceſs and cruelty ſo intimidated the Iriſh, that they ſuffered theſe mercileſs invaders to maintain their ſtation unmoleſted, and wait for the arrival of their aſſociates.

Dermod and the Engiſh allies committed every where the greateſt devaſtations, and threatened to ſubdue the whole iſland. This indeed they would probably have accompliſhed, had not the extraordinary ſucceſs of Strongbow alarmed king Henry; who, fearing that he might render himſelf totally independent on the crown of Britain, iſſued his royal edict, ſtrictly forbidding any Engliſh veſſel from paſſing into Ireland with men, arms, or proviſions; and commanding all his ſubjects at that time reſident in Ireland, of whatever rank or degree, to return to their country before the enſuing feaſt of Eſther, on pain of forfeiting their

lands, and being declared traitors. The true reaſon of this was, the king of England, having ſettled his affairs as well as he could, now determined to conquer Ireland for himſelf. A ſummons particular was therefore diſpatched to earl Richard, expreſſing the greateſt reſentment at his preſumption and diſobedience, and requiring his immediate preſence in England. The earl found himſelf under a neceſſity of obeying; and, having made the beſt diſpoſitions the time would permit for the ſecurity of his Iriſh poſſeſſions, embarked for England, and met the king at Newnham near Gloceſter. Henry at firſt affected great diſpleaſure; but ſoon allowed himſelf to be pacified by a ſurrender of the city of Dublin, and a large territory adjacent, together with all the maritime towns and forts acquired by Strongbow: while on his part he conſented that the earl ſhould have all his other poſſeſſions granted in perpetuity, to be held of the king and his heirs. The other adventurers made their peace in a ſimilar manner; while the Iriſh chieftains, inſtead of uniting in the defence of their country, only thought how to make the moſt of the approaching invaſion, or at leaſt how to avert the threatened evils from their own particular diſtricts. They ſaw the power of their own ſovereign on the point of total diſſolution; and they ſaw it with indifference, if not with an envious and malignant ſatisfaction. Some were even ready to prevent their invader, and to ſubmit before he appeared on the coaſt.

Henry, having completed the preparations neceſſary for his expedition, embarked at Milford with ſeveral of his barons, four hundred knights, and about four thouſand ſoldiers, on-board a fleet of two hundred and forty ſail. He landed at Waterford on the feaſt of St. Luke in October 1172; with a profeſſed deſign not to conquer, but to take poſſeſſion of a kingdom already his own, as being granted him by the pope. Moſt of the Iriſh indeed ſeemed to be of the ſame opi-

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nion, and therefore ſubmitted without the leaſt reſiſtance. Strongbow ſet them an example, by making a formal ſurrender of Waterford, and doing homage to the king for the territory of Leinſter. The prince of Deſmond was the firſt Iriſh chieftain who ſubmitted. On the very day after the king's arrival, he attended his court, reſigned the city of Corke, did him homage, and ſtipulated to pay a tribute for the reſt of his territory. An Engliſh governor and garriſon were immediately appointed to take poſſeſſion of his capital; and the king diſplayed his power and magnificence by marching to Liſmore, where he choſe a ſituation and gave the neceſſary orders for building a fort. The prince of Thomond next ſubmitted and did homage. He was followed by the princes of Oſſory, Decies, and all the inferior chiefs of Munſter.

The king, after having provided for the ſecurity of all his newly-acquired territories, and put garriſons in the cities of Limeric, Corke, Waterford, and Wexford, proceeded to take poſſeſſion of Dublin, which had been ſurrendered by Strongbow. The neighbouring lords took the opportunity of ſubmitting as he advanced. O'Carrol of Argial, a chieftain of great conſequence, repaired to his camp, and engaged to become his tributary; and even O'Ruarc, whom Roderic had made lord of a conſiderable part of Meath, voluntarily ſubmitted to the new ſovereign.

Roderic, though ſurpriſed at the defection of ſo many of his allies, ſtill determined to maintain his own dignity, and at leaſt preſerve his province of Connaught, ſeeing he could no longer call himſelf monarch of the whole iſland. With this deſign he entrenched himſelf on the banks of the Shannon; and now, when diſencumbered from a crowd of faithleſs and diſcontented followers, he appears to have acted with a ſpirit and dignity becoming his ſtation. Hugh de Lacy and William Fitz-Andelm were commiſſioned by the king to reduce him: but Roderic was too ſtrong to

be attacked with any probability of ſucceſs by a detachment from the Engliſh army; and he at leaſt affected to believe, that his ſituation was not yet ſo totally deſperate as to reduce him to the neceſſity of reſigning his dignity and authority, while his own territory remained inviolate, and the brave and powerful chiefs of Ulſter ſtill kept retired in their own diſtricts without any thoughts of ſubmiſſion. Henry in the mean time attempted to attach the Iriſh lords to his intereſt by elegant and magnificent entertainments, ſuch as to them appeared quite aſtoniſhing. Some hiſtorians pretend that he eſtabliſhed the Engliſh laws in all thoſe parts which had ſubmitted to his juriſdiction; but this muſt appear extremely improbable, when we conſider how tenacious a rude and barbarous people are of their ancient laws and cuſtoms. The Iriſh lords had been accuſtomed to do homage to a ſuperior; and they had made no ſubmiſſion to Henry which they had not formerly done to Roderic, and probably thought their ſubmiſſion to the king of England more honourable than that to their Iriſh monarchs; and it cannot be ſuppoſed, that a wiſe and politic monarch, ſuch as Henry undoubtedly was, ſhould form at once ſuch an extravagant ſcheme as altering the laws of a great number of communities, none of which he had ſubdued by force of arms. By this tranſaction both with the natives and adventurers, however, Henry had attained the abſolute dominion of ſeveral maritime cities and their dependencies; ſo that he had both a conſiderable number of real ſubjects, and a large extent of territory, in the iſland. To theſe ſubjects indeed Henry granted the Engliſh laws; and gave the city of Dublin by charter to the inhabitants of Briſtol, to be held of him and his heirs, with the ſame liberties and free cuſtoms which they enjoyed at Briſtol, and throughout all his land. And, by another charter, executed ſoon after, he confirmed to his burgeſſes of Dublin all manner of rights and immunities throughout his whole land

land of England, Normandy, Wales, and Ireland, wherever they and their effects ſhall be, to be fully and honourably enjoyed by them as his free and faithful ſubjects. And, as it was not eaſy to induce his Engliſh ſubjects immediately to ſettle in theſe maritime towns, he permitted the Oſtmen to take poſſeſſion of Waterford; and to them he granted a particular right of denization, whereby they were inveſted with the rights and privileges of free ſubjects, and for the future to be governed by the laws of his realm. For the better execution of theſe new laws, the king alſo made a diviſion of the diſtricts now ſubject to him into ſhires or counties; which was afterwards improved and enlarged, as the extenſion of the Engliſh ſettlements and the circumſtances of the country required. Sheriffs were appointed both for the counties and cities, with itinerant judges, and other miniſters of juſtice, and officers of ſtate, and every appendage of Engliſh government and law. To complete the whole ſyſtem, a chief governor or repreſentative of the king was appointed. His buſineſs was to exerciſe the royal authority, or ſuch parts of it as might be committed to him, in the king's abſence; and, as the preſent ſtate of Ireland, and the apprehenſions of war or inſurrections, made it neceſſary to guard againſt ſudden accidents, it was provided, That, in caſe of the death of any chief governor, the chancellor, treaſurer, chief-juſtice, and chief baron, keeper of the rolls, and king's ſerjeant at law, ſhould be empowered, with conſent of the nobles of the land, to elect a ſucceſſor, who was to exerciſe the full power and authority of this office, until the royal pleaſure ſhould be further known.

But, while Henry was thus regulating the government of his new dominions, he received the unwelcome news, that two cardinals, Albert and Theodine, delegated by the pope, had arrived in Normandy the year before, to make inquiſition into the death of Becket;

ket; that, having waited the king's arrival until their patience was exhauſted, they now ſummonded him to appear without delay, as he would avert the dreadful ſentence of excommunication, and preſerve his dominions from a general interdict. Such denunciations were of too great conſequence to admit of his longer ſtay in Ireland; he therefore ordered his forces and the officers of his houſehold to embark without delay, reſerving three ſhips for the conveyance of himſelf and his immediate attendants. Having therefore but a ſhort time to ſecure his Iriſh intereſts, he addreſſed himſelf to the original Engliſh adventurers, and by grants and promiſes laboured to detach them from Strongbow, and to bind them firmly to himſelf. To make amends for what he had taken from Fitz-Stephen, he granted him a conſiderable diſtrict in the neighbourhood of Dublin, to be held by knights ſervice; at the ſame time entruſting the maritime towns to his own immediate dependants. Waterford was committed to Humphrey de Bohun, Robert Fitz-Bernard, and Hugh de Gundville, with a train of twenty knights. In Wexford were ſtationed William Fitz-Andelm, Philip of Haſtings, and Philip de Braoſa, with a like number of attendants. Hugh de Lacy had a grant of all the territory of Meath, where there was no fortified place, and where of conſequence no particular reſervation was neceſſary, to be held of the king and his heirs, by the ſervice of fifty knights, in as full a manner as it had been enjoyed by any of the Iriſh princes. He alſo conſtituted him lord governor of Dublin, with a guard of twenty knights. Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitz-Gerald were appointed his coadjutors, with an equal train; and theſe, with others of the firſt adventurers, were thus obliged, under the pretence of an honourable employment, to reſide at Dublin, ſubject to the immediate inſpection of de Lacy, in whom Henry ſeems to have placed his chief confidence. Lands were aſſigned in the neighbourhood

hood of each city for the maintenance of the knights and ſoldiers. Orders were given to build a caſtle in Dublin and fortreſſes in other convenient places; and to John de Courcey, a baron diſtinguiſhed by his enterpriſing genius and abilities for war, was granted the whole province of Ulſter, provided he could reduce it by force of arms.

Henry was no ſooner gone, than his barons began to contrive how they might beſt ſtrengthen their own intereſts, and the Iriſh how they might beſt ſhake off the yoke to which they had ſo readily ſubmitted. De Lacy parcelled out the lands of Meath to his friends and adherents, and began to erect forts to keep the old inhabitants in awe. This gave offence to O'Ruarc, who ſtill enjoyed the eaſtern part of this territory as a tributary prince. He repaired to Dublin, in order to obtain redreſs from Lacy for ſome injuries real or pretended; but, as the parties could not come to an agreement, another conference was appointed on a hill called *Taragh*. Both parties came with a conſiderable train of armed followers; and the event was a ſcuffle, in which O'Ruarc and ſeveral of his followers were killed, and which ſerved to render the Engliſh not a little odious to the natives. The ſpirit of diſaffection had ſoon after an opportunity of ſhewing itſelf on the rebellion of king Henry's ſons, of which an account will be given in its proper place. The king had been obliged to weaken his forces in Ireland, by withdrawing ſeveral of his garriſons. The ſoldiers who remained were alſo diſcontented with their general, Harvey of Mountmorris, on account of his ſeverity in diſcipline, and reſtraining them from plunder, to which they imagined themſelves intitled on account of the deficiencies of their pay. Raymond le Gros, the ſecond in command, was much more beloved by the ſoldiery: and to ſuch a height had the jealouſies between the commanders ariſen, that all effectual oppoſition to the Iriſh chieftains was prevented; and, the

the event might have been fatal to the Engliſh intereſt, had not Henry found out a remedy. He ſummoned earl Richard to attend him at Rouen in Normandy, and communicated his intentions of committing the affairs of Ireland to his ſole direction. The earl expreſſed the utmoſt readineſs to ſerve his maſter; but obſerved that he had already experienced the envy and malignity of his ſecret enemies; that, if he ſhould appear in ſuch a diſtinguiſhed character as that of the king's deputy in Ireland, their inſidious practices would be renewed, and his conduct miſrepreſented. He therefore requeſted that a colleague might be appointed in the commiſſion; and recommended Raymond as a perſon of approved loyalty and abilities, as well as highly acceptable to the ſoldiery. The king replied, with an affected air of regard and confidence, that he had his free conſent to employ Raymond in any ſervice he ſhould deem neceſſary, not as a colleague, but as an aſſiſtant; but that he relied entirely on the earl himſelf, and implicitly truſted every thing to his direction. To reward his ſervices, he granted him the town of Wexford, together with a fort erected at Wicklow; and then diſmiſſed him with the moſt gracious expreſſions of favour.

The earl landed at Dublin, where he was received with all the reſpect due to the royal commiſſion. He ſignified the king's pleaſure, that Robert Fitz-Bernard, with the garriſon of Waterford, ſhould inſtantly embark and repair to Normandy; that Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Pendergaſt ſhould attend the ſervice of their ſovereign in England; and, agreeably to the king's inſtructions, took on him the cuſtody of the cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Wexford. Hugh de Lacy, and Milo de Cogan, were, with the other lords, commanded to repair to England for the ſervice of the king; by which the earl's forces were conſiderably weakened, and he ſoon found himſelf under a neceſſity of appointing Raymond to the chief command.

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The new general proved ſucceſsful in ſome enterpriſes againſt the rebellious Iriſh; but, having preſumed upon his merits to demand in marriage Baſilia the earl's ſiſter, Richard refuſed his conſent, and Raymond retired into Wales.

Thus the ſupreme command again devolved upon Harvey of Mountmorris; who, being ſenſible that his character had ſuffered much from a compariſon with that of Raymond, determined to emulate his ſucceſſes by ſome bold attempt againſt the rebels. A detachment of four hundred of his men, however, had the misfortune to be ſurpriſed and cut off by the enemy; and this ſucceſs ſerved as a ſignal for a general revolt. Several of the Leinſter chieftains, who had lately made their ſubmiſſions, and bound themſelves to the ſervice of king Henry, now openly diſclaimed all engagements. Even Donald Kevanagh, ſon to the late king Dermod, who had hitherto adhered to the Engliſh in their greateſt difficulties, now declared againſt them, and claimed a right to the kingdom of Leinſter; while Roderic, on his part, was active in uniting the princes of Ulſter, the native lords of Meath, and other chiefs, againſt their common enemy. This produced the immediate recal of Raymond; and, Richard no longer refuſed his conſent to the marriage with his ſiſter, which was ſolemnized immediately on Raymond's arrival. The very next morning, the bridegroom was obliged to take the field againſt Roderic, who had committed great devaſtations in Meath. By the vigorous conduct of the Engliſh commander, however, he was not only prevented from doing farther miſchief, but at laſt convinced of the folly of reſiſtance: and therefore determined to make a final ſubmiſſion. Yet, conſcious of his dignity, he diſdained to ſubmit to a ſubject; and therefore, inſtead of treating with earl Richard, he ſent deputies directly to the king. The deputies were, Catholicus archbiſhop of Tuam, the abbot of St. Brandan,

dan, and *Maſter Lawrence*, as he is ſtyled, chancellor to the king of Connaught.

The terms of this ſubmiſſion, by which Henry became ſole monarch of Ireland, were as follow: Roderic conſented to do homage and pay tribute, as liegeman to the king of England; on which condition he was allowed to hold the kingdom of Connaught, as well as his other lands and ſovereignties, in as ample a manner as he had enjoyed them before the arrival of Henry in Ireland. His vaſſals were to hold under him in peace, as long as they paid their tribute and continued faithful to the king of Engand; in which Roderic was to enforce their due obedience, and for this purpoſe to call to his aſſiſtance the Engliſh government, if neceſſary. The annual tribute to be paid was every tenth merchantable hide, as well from Connaught as from the reſt of the iſland; excepting thoſe parts under the immediate dominion of the king of England and his barons, viz. Dublin and Meath with their appurtenances, Wexford and all Leinſter, and Waterford with its lands as far as Dungarvan, incluſive; in all which diſtricts Roderic was not to interfere; nor claim any power or authority. The Iriſh who had fled from theſe diſtricts were to return, and either pay their tribute, or perform the ſervices required by their tenures, at the option of their immediate lords; and, if refractory, Roderic, at the requiſition of their lords, was to compel them to return. He was to take hoſtages from his vaſſals, ſuch as he and his liege-lord ſhould think proper; and on his part to deliver either theſe or others to the king, according to the royal pleaſure. His vaſſals were to furniſh hawks and hounds annually to the Engliſh monarch; and were not to detain any tenant of his immediate demeſnes in Ireland, contrary to his royal pleaſure and command. This treaty was ſolemnly ratified in a grand council of prelates and temporal barons, among whom we find the archbiſhop of Dublin one of the ſubſcribing

witneſſes. As metropolitan of Leinſter, he was now become an Engliſh ſubject, and was probably ſummoned on this occaſion as one obliged to attend, and who had a right to aſſiſt in the king's great council. It was alſo obſervable, that Henry now treated with Roderic not merely as provincial prince, but as monarch of Ireland. This is evidently implied and ſuppoſed in the articles; although his monarchial powers and privileges were little more than nominal, frequently diſregarded and oppoſed by the Iriſh toparchs. Even by their ſubmiſſions to Henry, many of them in effect diſavowed and renounced the ſovereignty of Roderic; but now his ſupremacy ſeems to be induſtriouſly acknowledged, that the preſent ſubmiſſion might appear virtually the ſubmiſſion of all the ſubordinate princes, and thus the king of England be inveſted with the ſovereignty of the whole iſland. The marks of ſovereignty, however, were no more than homage and tribute: in every other particular, the regal rights of Roderic were left inviolate. The Engliſh laws were only to be enforced in the Engliſh pale: and, even there, the Iriſh tenant might live in peace, as the ſubject of the Iriſh monarch; bound only to pay his quota of tribute, and not to take arms againſt the king of England.

But, though the whole iſland of Ireland thus became ſubject to the king of England, it was far from being ſettled in tranquillity, or indeed from having the ſituation of its inhabitants mended almoſt in any degree. One great occaſion of diſturbance was, that the Engliſh laws were confined only to thoſe parts which had been ſubdued by force of arms; while the chieftains that had only ſubmitted to pay tribute were allowed to retain the ancient Iriſh laws within the limits of their own juriſdictions. By theſe old Iriſh laws, many crimes accounted capital with us, ſuch as robbery, murder, &c. might be compenſated by a ſum of money. Hence it happened, that very unequal

punishments were inflicted for the same offence. If one Englishman killed another, he was punished with death; but, if he killed an Irishman, he was punished only by a fine. If an Irishman, on the other hand, killed an Englishman, he was certainly punished with death: and as, in times of violence and outrage, the crime of murder was very frequent, the circumstance just mentioned tended to produce an implacable hatred between the original inhabitants and the English. As the Irish laws were thus more favourable to the barbarity natural to the tempers of some individuals, many of the English were also tempted to lay aside the manners and customs of their countrymen altogether, and to associate themselves with the Irish, that, by becoming subject to their laws, they might have thus an opportunity of gratifying their brutal inclinations with less controul than formerly; and in process of time, these *degenerate English*, as they were called, proved more bitter enemies to their countrymen than even the Irish themselves. Another cause of the distresses of Ireland was the great power of the English barons, among whom Henry had divided the greatest part of his Irish dominions. The extent of their authority only inflamed them with a desire for more; and, instead of contributing their endeavours to increase the power of their sovereign, or to civilize the barbarous people over whom they were placed, they did every thing in their power to counteract and destroy each other. Henry himself, indeed, seems to have been infected with a very fatal jealousy in this respect; for, though the abilities and fidelity of Raymond had abundantly manifested themselves, the king never could allow himself to continue him in the government of the island: and the consequence of degrading him never failed to be a scene of uproar and confusion. To these two reasons we must likewise add another; namely, that, in those parts of the kingdom where the Irish chieftains enjoyed the sovereignty, they were at full liberty to make war upon

upon each other as formerly, without the leaſt reſtraint. This likewiſe induced many the Engliſh to degenerate, that they might have an opportunity of ſharing the plunder got by theſe petty wars; ſo that, on the whole, the iſland was a perpetual ſcene of horror, almoſt unequalled in the hiſtory of any country.

After the death of earl Richard, Raymond was immediately elected to ſucceed him; but was ſuperceded by the king, who appointed William Fitz-Andelm, a nobleman allied to Raymond, to ſucceed in his place. The new governor had neither inclination nor abilities to perform the taſk aſſigned to him. He was of a rapacious temper, ſenſual and corrupt in his manners; and therefore only ſtudied to enrich himſelf. The native Iriſh, provoked by ſome depredations of the Engliſh, commenced hoſtilities; but Fitz-Andelm, inſtead of repreſſing theſe with vigour in the beginning, treated the chieftains with affected courteſy and flattery. This they had ſufficient diſcernment to ſee, and to deſpiſe; while the original adventurers had the burden of the whole defence of the *Engliſh pale*, as the Engliſh tertories were called, thrown upon them, at the ſame time that the bad conduct of the governor was the cauſe of perpetual diſorders. The conſequence of this was, that the lords avowed their hatred of Fitz-Andelm; the ſoldiers were mutinous, ill-appointed, and unpaid; and the Iriſh came in crowds to the governor with perpetual complaints againſt the old adventurers, which were always decided againſt the latter; and this deciſion increaſed their confidence, without leſſening their diſaffection.

In this unfavourable ſtate of affairs, John de Courcey, a bold adventurer, who had as yet reaped none of the benefits he expected, reſolved to undertake an expedition againſt the natives, in order to enrich himſelf with their ſpoils. The Iriſh at that time were

giving no offence; and therefore pleaded the treaty lately concluded with king Henry; but treaties were of little avail, when put in competition with the neceſſities of an indigent and rapacious adventurer. The conſequence was, that the flame of war was kindled through the whole iſland. The chieftains took advantage of the war with the Engliſh, to commence hoſtilities againſt each other. Deſmond and Thomond, in the ſouthern province, were diſtracted by the jealouſies of contending chiefs, and the whole land was waſted by unnatural and bloody quarrels. Treachery and murder were revenged by practices of the ſame kind, in ſuch a manner as to perpetuate a ſucceſſion of outrages the moſt horrid, and the moſt diſgraceful to humanity. The northern province was a ſcene of the like enormities: though the new Engliſh ſettlers, who were conſidered as a common enemy, ought to have united the natives among themſelves. All were equally ſtrangers to the virtues of humanity; nor was religion, in the form it then aſſumed, capable of reſtraining theſe violences in the leaſt.

Ireland was thus in a ſhort time reduced to ſuch a ſtate, that Henry perceived the neceſſity of recalling Fitz-Andelm, and appointing another governor. He was accordingly recalled; and Hugh de Lacy appointed to ſucceed him. He left his government without being regretted, and is ſaid by the hiſtorians of thoſe times to have done only one good action during the whole courſe of his adminiſtration. This action was nothing more important than the removing of a relic, called the *ſtaff of Jeſus*, from the cathedral of Armagh to that of Dublin; probably that it might be in greater ſafety, as the war raged violently in Ulſter. De Lacy, however, was a man of quite a different diſpoſition, and every way qualified for the difficult government with which he was inveſted: but at the ſame time, the king, by inveſting his ſon John with

with the lordſhip of Ireland, gave occaſion to greater diſturbances than even thoſe which had already happened. The nature of this lordſhip hath been much diſputed; but the moſt probable opinion is, that the king's ſon was now to be inveſted with all the rights and powers which had formerly belonged to Roderic, who was allowed the title of *king of Ireland*. It doth not appear, indeed, that Henry had any right to deprive Roderic of theſe powers, and ſtill leſs had he to diſpoſe of any of the territories of thoſe chieftains who had agreed to become his tributaries; which nevertheleſs he certainly did, and which failed not to be productive of an immediate war with theſe chiefs.

The new governor entered on his office with all that ſpirit and vigour which was neceſſary; but, being miſrepreſented to the king by ſome factious barons, he was in a ſhort time recalled, and two others, totally unfit for the government, appointed in his room. This error was ſoon corrected, and Lacy was replaced in three months. The ſame jealouſy which produced his firſt degradation ſoon produced a ſecond; and Philip de Braoſa, or *Philip of Worceſter* as he is called, a man of a moſt avaritious diſpoſition, was appointed to ſucceed him. This governor behaved in ſuch a manner, that his ſuperſtitious ſubjects expected every moment that the vengeance of heaven would fall upon him, and deliver them from his tyranny. His power, however, was of ſhort duration; for now prince John prepared to exerciſe the authority with which his father had inveſted him in Ireland. He was attended by a conſiderable military force: his train was formed of a company of gallant Normans in the pride of youth; but luxurious, inſolent, and followed by a number of Engliſhmen, ſtrangers to the country they were to viſit, deſperate in their fortunes, accuſtomed to a life of profligacy, and filled with great expectations of advantage from their preſent ſervice. The whole aſſembly embarked in a fleet of ſixty ſhips; and arrived at Water-

ford after a prosperous voyage, filling the whole country with the greatest surprise and expectation.

The young prince had not yet arrived at the years of discretion; nor indeed, from his subsequent conduct, doth it appear that his disposition was such as qualified him in the least for the high dignity to which he was raised. The hardy Welshmen who first emigrated into Ireland immediaetly waited upon him to do him homage; but they were disagreeable to the gay courtiers, and to the prince himself, who minded nothing but his pleasures. The Irish lords were at first terrified by the magnificent representation of the force of the English army; and, being reconciled to submission by the dignity of the prince's station, hastened in crouds to Waterford to do him homage. They exhibited a spectacle to the Norman courtiers which the latter did not fail to treat with contempt and ridicule. The Irish lords, with uncouth attire, thick bushy beards, and hair standing on end, advanced with very little ceremony; and, according to their own notions of respect, offered to kiss the young prince. His attendants stepped in, and prevented this horrid violation of decorum by thrusting away the Irishmen. The whole assembly burst into peals of laughter, pulled their beards, and committed several other indignities on the persons of their guests; which were immediately and severely resented. The chieftains left the court, boiling with indignation; and, meeting others of their countrymen hastening to do homage to the prince, they informed them of the reception they themselves had met with. A league was instantly formed to extirpate the English, and the whole nation flew to arms; while John and his courtiers, instead of opposing the enemy, employed themselves in harrassing and oppressing those who were under their immediate jurisdiction. The country was therefore over-run by the barbarians, agriculture entirely neglected, and a dreadful famine threatened to follow the calamities of war.

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This terrible devaſtation had continued for eight months before the king was fully acquainted with it. He then determined to recal his ſon; but was at a loſs whom he ſhould name for his ſucceſſor. Lacy had been murdered by an Iriſh peaſant; and the king was at laſt obliged to have recourſe to John de Courcey, whoſe boiſterous valour ſeemed now to be abſolutely neceſſary to prevent the Engliſh from being totally exterminated. The new governor was obliged at firſt to act on the defenſive; but, as his enemies ſoon forgot their league, and began their uſual hoſtilities againſt each other, he was at laſt enabled to maintain the authority of the Engliſh government, and to ſupport their acquiſitions in Ireland, though not to extend them.

Henry was ſo well pleaſed with the conqueſt of Ireland, that he placed the title of lord of Ireland, in his royal ſtile, before his hereditary eſtates of Normandy and Aquitain. And yet Ireland, ſays judge Cox, was, at this time, ſo inconſiderable, or ſo little improved, that there were not five caſtles of Iriſh building in the whole kingdom; Dublin, Cork, and Waterford, were built by the Eaſterlings; and all the reſt have been built ſince the reduction of Ireland. As to the caſtles built by the Iriſh, they were no other than turf or wattles plaiſtered over. The firſt pile of lime and ſtone, built in Ireland, was the caſtle of Tuam, built A. D. 1161, by Roderic O'Connor, the monarch; and for the rarity of it, called *Caſtrum Miriſicum*.

THE king was ſcarcely freed from the war with Ireland, and the dangerous controverſy which he had engaged in with the church of Rome, when he found himſelf involved in the moſt unnatural conteſts with his children, to whom he had always behaved in the moſt tender and affectionate manner. He had ordered Henry his eldeſt ſon to be anointed king; and had

deſtined

deſtined him for his ſucceſſor in the kingdom of England, the duchy of Normandy, and the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; territories which lay contiguous, and which might thus eaſily lend their aſſiſtance to one another. Richard his ſecond ſon was inveſted in the duchy of Guienne and county of Poictou: Geoffrey his third ſon inherited, in right of his wife, the duchy of Brittany: and the new conqueſt of Ireland was deſtined for the appendage of John his fourth ſon, for whom he had negociated a marriage with Adelais the only daughter of Humbert count of Savoy and Maurienne; and with whom he was to receive as a dowry very conſiderable demeſnes in Piedmont, Savoy, Breſſe, and Dauphiny. This greatneſs of Henry's family alarmed the king of France; and he therefore excited young prince Henry to demand of his father either the immediate reſignation of the crown of England or the duchy of Normandy. The king refuſed to comply with ſuch an extravagant demand; upon which the prince made his eſcape to Paris, where he was protected by the French king. This happened in 1173; and the ſame year, queen Eleanor, finding that ſhe was now grown very diſagreeable to the king, and particularly incenſed at his amour with Roſamond Clifford, became indefatigable in her endeavours to light up the flame of rebellion through the kingdom; ſhe communicated her diſcontent to her two younger children Geoffrey and Richard, whom ſhe engaged alſo to demand the territories aſſigned them, and then fly to the king of France. The queen herſelf was meditating an eſcape to the ſame court, and had put on man's apparel for that purpoſe, when ſhe was ſeized and confined by Henry's order. The licentious barons in the mean time wiſhed for a change of government; hoping to have liberty, under young and unexperienced princes, to commit thoſe rapines and violences which they could not do with

with safety when governed by such a prudent and vigilant king as Henry. In the midst of this universal defection, however, the English monarch still retained his usual intrepidity, and prepared with as much vigour as possible for the contest. As he could depend on the fidelity of very few of his nobility, he was obliged to enlist in his service a number of desperate ruffians called *Brabençons*, and sometimes *Routiers* or *Cottereaux*, though for what reason is not mentioned in history. These banditti were very numerous during the times of the feudal government, when many private wars were carried on between the nobles; and twenty thousand of these, with a few forces furnished by his faithful barons, composed the whole of Henry's army on this occasion.

With this force the king of England totally overthrew the schemes of his enemies on the continent; but, being very desirous of putting an end to the war, he this very year (1173) agreed to a conference with the king of France. At this interview, Henry offered his children the most advantageous terms. He insisted only on retaining the sovereign authority in all his dominions. To Henry he offered half the revenues of the crown of England, with some places of surety in that kingdom; or, if he chose rather to reside in Normandy, half the revenues of that duchy, with all those of Anjou. He made a like offer to Richard in Guienne; he promised to resign all Brittany to Geoffrey; and, if these concessions were not deemed sufficient, he agreed to add to them whatever the pope's legates, who were present, should require of him. The conference, however, was broken off by the violence of the earl of Leicester; who not only reproached Henry in the most indecent manner, but even put his hand to his sword, as if he intended to attempt some violence against him.

In the mean time, the most of the English nobility united in opposition against their sovereign; and an ir-

ruption at this time by the king of Scotland aſſiſted their rebellious ſchemes. The earl of Leiceſter ſoon after invaded Suffolk at the head of a body of Flemings; but they were repulſed with great ſlaughter, and the earl himſelf was taken priſoner. Soon after, William king of Scotland, who had been repulſed, and agreed to a ceſſation of arms, broke the truce, and invaded England with an army of eighty thouſand men, committing the moſt terrible devaſtations. Henry in the mean time, to reconcile himſelf thoroughly to the church, performed the penances at the tomb of Thomas a Becket which he had formerly promiſed to do. As ſoon as he came within ſight of the church of Canterbury, he alighted from his horſe, walked barefoot towards the town, and proſtrated himſelf before the ſhrine of the ſaint. He remained a whole day in prayer and faſting, watched the holy relics all night, made a grant of fifty pounds a-year to the convent for a conſtant ſupply of tapers to illuminate the ſhrine; and, not ſatisfied with theſe ſubmiſſions, he aſſembled a chapter of monks, diſrobed himſelf before them, put a ſcourge into each of their hands, and preſented his bare ſhoulders to their ſtrokes. Next day he received abſolution; and, departing for London, had the agreeable news of the defeat and captivity of William king of Scotland, which happened on the very day of his abſolution.

This victory proved deciſive in Henry's favour. The Engliſh barons who had revolted, or were preparing for a revolt, inſtantly delivered up their caſtles to the victor, and the kingdom was in a few weeks reſtored to perfect tranquillity. Prince Henry, who was ready to embark with a great army to join the Engliſh rebels, abandoned all thoughts of the enterpriſe. Soon after a treaty was concluded with the king of France; in which Henry granted his children much leſs advantageous terms than he had offered him before. The principal were, ſome penſions for their ſupport, caſtles

for

for their reſidence, and an indemnity to all their adherents. The greateſt ſufferer by this war was William king of Scotland. He was compelled to ſign a treaty by which he obliged himſelf to do homage to Henry for the kingdom of Scotland. It was agreed, that his barons and biſhops ſhould do the ſame; and that the fortreſſes of Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburg, ſhould be delivered into the hands of the conqueror till the articles were performed. This treaty was executed moſt punctually and rigorouſly on the tenth of Auguſt 1175. The king, barons, and prelates, of Scotland, did homage to Henry in the cathedral of York; the greateſt humiliation to which the Scottiſh nation had ever been ſubjected.

Henry was now freed from all troubles either at home or abroad, for five years; during which time he made ſeveral ſalutary laws for the good of his kingdom. But, in 1180, the ambitious ſpirits of his children involved him in freſh calamities. Richard, who had been inveſted by his father with the ſovereignty of Guienne, refuſed to do homage to his elder brother, as king Henry had required him to do. Young Henry and Geoffrey, uniting their arms, invaded their brother's dominions; and, while the king was endeavouring to compoſe their differences, he found himſelf conſpired againſt by them all. The conſpiracy, however, was defeated by the death of prince Henry in 1183. He had retired to Martel, a caſtle near Turenne, where he was ſeized with a fever; and, perceiving the approaches of death, he was at laſt ſtruck with remorſe for his undutiful behaviour towards his father. He ſent a meſſenger to the king, who was not far diſtant; expreſſed his contrition for his faults; and intreated the favour of a viſit, that he might at leaſt die with the ſatisfaction of having received his forgiveneſs. The king, who had ſo often experienced his ſon's ingratitude and violence, apprehended that his ſickneſs was

entirely a feint, and dared not to truſt himſelf in the prince's hands. But ſoon after, receiving certain intelligence of his death, and proofs of his ſincere repentance, the good old king was affected with the deepeſt ſorrow. He thrice fainted away; he accuſed his own hard-heartedneſs in refuſing the dying requeſt of his ſon; and he lamented that he had deprived the prince of the laſt opportunity of making atonement for his offences.

Prince Henry, who died in the twenty-eighth year of his age, left no poſterity. His brother Richard ſucceeded to his dominions, and ſoon diſcovered as turbulent a ſpirit as that which had actuated his brother. He refuſed to give up Guienne, which Henry had deſigned for his fourth ſon John; and even made preparations for carrying on a war againſt his father, and brother Geoffrey. Henry ſent for Eleanor his queen, the heireſs of Guienne; to whom Richard, either dreading an inſurrection in her favour, or out of a ſenſe of duty, willingly yielded up the territory, and retired peaceably to his father's court. This breach, however, was no ſooner made up, than Geoffrey demanded Anjou to be added to his dominions in Brittany. This the king refuſed; upon which he fled to the court of France, and prepared to levy an army againſt his father. Henry, however, was freed from the danger which threatened him from that quarter, by his ſon's death, who was killed in a tournament at Paris. The loſs of this prince gave few, except the king himſelf, any uneaſineſs; for he was univerſally hated, and went among the people by the name of the *Child of Perdition*. The widow of Geoffrey, ſoon after his deceaſe, was delivered of a ſon, who received the name of *Arthur*, and was inveſted in the duchy of Brittany, under the guardianſhip of his grandfather, who, as duke of Normandy, was alſo ſuperior lord of that territory. Philip, as lord paramount, diſputed for ſome time his title to this wardſhip; but was obliged to yield to the inclination

clination of the Bretons, who preferred the government of Henry. Some other causes inflamed the dissension between these two monarchs, and Philip once more seduced Richard from his duty. He insisted, that his marriage with Adelais, Philip's sister, should be immediately completed, and threatened to enforce his pretensions with a formidable army. This occasioned another conference between Gisors and Trie, the usual place of meeting, under a vast elm that is said to have shaded more than an acre. In the midst of this conference the archbishop of Tyre appeared before the assembly in the most miserable habit, and begged assistance against the infidels, who, under Saladin, had almost totally expelled the Christians from Asia. His intelligence appeared so very dismal, that the kings of France and England laid aside their animosity. Both of them immediately took the cross; but Richard, who had long wished to have all the glory of such an expedition to himself, could not bear to have even his father for a partner in his victories. He therefore entered into a confederacy with the king of France; so that Henry found himself at last obliged to give up all thoughts of the crusade, in order to defend himself against this unnatural combination. The event of the war proved very unfortunate for Henry, who lost several towns, and narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the enemy himself. At last a treaty was concluded at the intercession of the duke of Burgundy, the count of Flanders, and the archbishop of Rheims; but upon terms very humiliating to the king of England. It was agreed, that Richard should marry the princess Adelais, and be crowned king of England during the life-time of his father; that Henry should pay twenty thousand marks to the king of France, as a compensation for the charges of the war; that his own barons should engage to make him observe this treaty, and, in case of violating it, to join Philip and Richard against him; and that all his vassals who had espoused the

cauſe of Richard ſhould receive an indemnity for their offence. Theſe terms, mortifying as they were, Henry bore with patience; but when, upon receiving a liſt of the barons that were to be pardoned, he found his own ſon John, who was his favourite, among them, he could no longer ſupport his grief. He broke out into the moſt lamentable expreſſions of deſpair; curſed the day in which he received his miſerable being; and beſtowed on his ungrateful children a malediction which he never afterwards could be prevailed upon to retract. Soon after, he fell into a lingering fever occaſioned by his grief; and of this he died on the ſixth of July 1189, and in the fifty-eighth year of his age and thirty-fifth of his reign. His natural ſon Geoffrey, who alone had behaved dutifully towards him, attended his corpſe to the nunnery of Fontevralt, where it lay in ſtate in the abbey-church. Next day Richard, who came to viſit the dead body of his father, was ſtruck with horror at the ſight. At his approach, the blood was ſeen to guſh out at the mouth and noſtrils of the corpſe; and this accident was, by the ſuperſtition of the times, interpreted as the moſt dreadful rebuke. Richard could not endure the ſight. He exclaimed that he was his father's murderer; and expreſſed a ſtrong, though too late, ſenſe of his undutiful conduct.

Thus died the firſt prince of the houſe of Plantagenet, whoſe dominions were more extenſive than any of his predeceſſors. He had reigned over England thirty-five years; during which he humbled Scotland, kept Wales in ſtrict ſubjection, conquered Ireland, and held all the maritime provinces of France, even to the mountains that divide it from Spain: which led father Daniel to acknowledge, that he juſtly claimed, and undeniably maintained, his ſovereignty over the ſeas.

In this king's reign, about the year of Chriſt 1176, London-bridge began to be built, of ſtone, by Peter Coleman,

RICHARD I.

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Coleman, a prieſt. The king, the pope's legate, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, contributed towards the work. It was finiſhed in about thirty-three years, during which time the courſe of the Thames was turned another way, by a trench cut for that purpoſe from Batterſea to Rotherhithe.

Richard ſucceeded to the throne without oppoſition, immediately after his father's death; and, on his acceſſion, ſet his mother Eleanor (who had been again confined) at liberty. A romantic deſire for ſtrange adventures, and an immoderate zeal for the external rites of religion, were the ruling paſſions of the times. By the firſt of theſe Richard was inflamed to the higheſt degree, and therefore behaved as if the whole deſign of his government had been to attempt the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidels. The ſuperſtition of the people ſhewed itſelf in a moſt violent and tragical manner on the very day of the king's coronation. The Jews were the objects of univerſal hatred, ſo that Richard had iſſued out orders forbidding any of them from appearing at his coronation. But ſome of them, bringing him large preſents from their nation, preſumed, notwithſtanding theſe orders, to approach the hall in which the king dined. Being diſcovered, they were expoſed to the inſults and injuries of the by-ſtanders; in conſequence of which they fled, and were purſued by the people. A report was ſpread, that the king had given orders to maſſacre all the Jews. This ſuppoſed command was executed in the moſt cruel manner. Multitudes were ſlaughtered in the city of London, and this example was followed in moſt of the cities in England. Five hundred Jews had retired into York caſtle for ſafety: but, finding themſelves unable to defend the place, they murdered their wives and children; threw the dead bodies over the wall againſt their enemies who attempted to ſcale it; and then, ſetting fire to the houſes, periſhed in the flames. The gentry in the neighbourhood, who were all indebted

debted to the Jews, ran to the cathedral where their bonds were kept, and made a ſolemn bonefire of them before the altar.

Richard immediately began to take meaſures for his expedition into Paleſtine. His father had left him an hundred thouſand marks; and this ſum he augmented by all expedients he could think of, however pernicious to the public or dangerous to the royal authority. He ſet up to ſale the revenues and manors of the crown, and ſeveral offices of the greateſt truſt and power. Liberties, charters, caſtles, were given to the beſt bidders. His friends warned him of the danger attending this venality; but he told them he would ſell the city of London itſelf, if he could find a purchaſer. Numerous exactions were alſo practiſed upon all ranks and ſtations; menaces, promiſes, and expoſtulations, were uſed to fright the timid and allure the avaricious. A zealous preacher of thoſe times was emboldened to remonſtrate againſt the king's conduct; and adviſed him to part with his three daughters, which were pride, avarice, and ſenſuality. To this Richard readily replied, "You counſel right, my friend: and I have already provided huſbands for them all. I will diſpoſe of my pride to the templars; my avarice to the monks; and, as for my ſenſuality, the clergy ſhall ſhare that among them." At length the king, having got together a ſufficient ſupply for his undertaking, and even ſold his ſuperiority over Scotland for a moderate ſum, ſet out for the Holy Land; whither he was impelled by repeated meſſages from the king of France, who was ready to embark in the ſame enterpriſe.

The army did not take the ſame route as in the preceding wars; but were tranſported to Paleſtine by ſea, and Sicily was appointed by the two kings for the place of rendezvous. The French king embarked at Genoa, and Richard at Marſeilles; but, finding the year pretty far advanced when their forces arrived in Sicily, they

they wintered there. The Sicilians were terrified at Richard's great armament; and the French were no leſs diſguſted, as it ſeemed to eclipſe the glory of their monarch.

Tancred the baſtard, then king of Sicily, had uſurped the throne, and impriſoned Joanna, king Richard's ſiſter, the dowager of the late king William, for taking part with the emperor, who claimed the kingdom of Sicily in right of Conſtance his wife, the heireſs of the late king. On the approach of the Engliſh fleet, Tancred ſet the queen at liberty; but Richard made Tancred alſo promiſe to pay the queen twenty thouſand ounces of gold in lieu of her dower, and the ſame ſum to himſelf as a ſatisfaction for the legacies the late king William bequeathed to his father, Henry II. But Tancred not immediately fulfilling his promiſe, and his people treating the Engliſh very ill, who were quartered at Meſſina, Richard aſſembled his forces, aſſaulted the city, took it, and fixed his colours on the walls. He put the kingdom into poſſeſſion of the knights templars, till he could obtain ſatisfaction of Tancred; who ſoon after, coming to Meſſina, complied with the king's demands, and had the city reſtored to him. Here a great indifference aroſe between king Richard and king Philip; upon which the latter, not waiting till Richard was ready, ſailed for Paleſtine. As ſoon as the Engliſh fleet was ready, it ſailed for Meſſina, conſiſting of one hundred and fifty large ſhips, fifty-three gallies, and a vaſt number of ſtore ſhips. There were on-board thirty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe. In the courſe of this voyage Richard took the town of Limezum, in the iſland of Cyprus, and made Iſaac emperor of the country priſoner, having entirely defeated his troops, becauſe he had ſeized upon the effects of ſeveral of his ſhips, that were driven by a ſtorm on his coaſts, and made the crews priſoners. Richard, at his departure from Cyprus for Syria, left two viceroys to govern the iſland.

Here he ſolemnized his marriage with the princeſs of Navarre, and cauſed her to be crowned; but, without ſuffering the ſofter paſſions to divert him from his purpoſe, he collected together his whole fleet, conſiſting of two hundred and fifty ſtout ſhips, and, upwards of ſixty gallies, and proceeded to Acon, or Ptolemais, on the coaſt of Paleſtine. In his paſſage thither he fell in with a Saracen veſſel, of prodigious bulk, laden with military ſtores. Matthew Paris calls it Dromunda, and tells us, that the ſhips of the Engliſh fleet attacked it briſkly, though it lay like a huge floating caſtle on the ſea: after an obſtinate conflict they boarded and made prize of it, although it was defended by fifteen hundred men. The cruel conqueror, in whoſe heart compaſſion rarely found a place, cauſed almoſt the whole crew, to the amount of thirteen hundred, to be thrown into the ſea.

Richard, after this, arrived at Paleſtine, where he eclipſed all the other Chriſtian princes. He fought with and overcame Saladine, the famous leader of the Saracens, and ſlew forty thouſand infidels. In conſequence of theſe ſignal ſucceſſes, he ſubdued ſeveral cities, and gained great reputation for conduct in war, as well as for perſonal bravery; but from his heroic exploits he derived no real advantages to himſelf, or to the cauſe in which he was engaged. This active campaign was terminated by a truce for three years, which being ratified, Richard determined to repair to his own kingdom.

He was, however, at a loſs how to proceed. He durſt not return by the way he came, as this would put him in the power of the king of France, between whom and the king of England an irreconcilable enmity had taken place. No way therefore was left, but by going more to the north; for which reaſon he took ſhipping for Italy, but was wrecked near Aquileia. From thence he travelled towards Raguſa, and reſolved to make his way through Germany in the habit of a pilgrim.

pilgrim. But his expences and liberalities having betrayed him notwithſtanding this diſguiſe, he was arreſted by Leopold duke of Auſtria, who commanded him to be loaded with ſhackles. This prince had ſerved under Richard at the ſiege of Acres (the ancient Ptolemais), where having received ſome diſguſt, he took this baſe method of revenging himſelf. Henry VI. emperor of Germany, was then equally an enemy to Richard on account of his having married Berengaria the daughter of Tancred king of Sicily. He therefore required the royal captive to be delivered up to him, and ſtipulated a large ſum of money to the duke as a reward for his ſervice.---The kingdom of England in the mean time was in great confuſion. Richard had left it under the direction of Hugh biſhop of Durham, and Longchamp biſhop of Ely. The tempers of theſe prelates being very different, an animoſity between them ſoon took place. Longchamp at laſt arreſted his colleague, and obliged him to reſign his power in order to obtain his liberty. The king, by many letters, commanded Longchamp to replace his coadjutor, but to no purpoſe. When the ſituation of the king became uncertain, Longchamp tyrannized to ſuch a degree, that John the king's brother thought proper to oppoſe him. He then left the kingdom; and upon this the archbiſhop of Rouen was made juſticiary in his room. The king of France, being informed of theſe diſſentions, ſtrove to increaſe them as much as poſſible; and had even almoſt prevailed upon John to throw off his allegiance, by promiſing to put him into poſſeſſion of all Richard's continental dominions. When the Engliſh firſt received the news of Richard's captivity, a general indignation was excited through the whole nation. The greateſt, and almoſt the only, traitor in the kingdom, was the king's own brother John. On the very firſt invitation from the court of France, he went abroad; and held a conſultation with Philip, the object of which was the perpetual ruin and captivity of

his unhappy brother. He promiſed to deliver into Philip's hands a great part of Normandy; and, in return, he received the inveſtiture of all Richard's tranſmarine dominions: it is even ſaid, that he did homage to the French king for the crown of England. In conſequence of this treaty, Philip invaded Normandy, and made conſiderable progreſs in the conqueſt of it. He was, however, at laſt repulſed by the earl of Leiceſter, who was now returned from the Holy Land; and a truce was concluded on condition of paying the French king twenty thouſand marks, and putting four caſtles into his hands by way of ſecurity for the payment.---John, who had come over to England, met with ſtill leſs ſucceſs in his enterpriſes. He was only able to make himſelf maſter of the caſtles of Windſor and Wallingford; but when he came to London, and demanded the kingdom as heir to his brother, of whoſe death he pretended to have received certain intelligence, he was rejected by all the barons, and meaſures were taken to oppoſe and ſubdue him. The defence of the kingdom was ſo well provided for, that John, after ſome fruitleſs efforts, was obliged to conclude a truce with his opponents; and, before the expiration of it, he thought proper to retire to France, where he openly acknowledged his alliance with Philip. All the efforts of Richard's enemies proved ineffectual to detain him in captivity. He was brought before the diet of the empire at Worms, where the emperor Henry brought againſt him a charge of many crimes and miſdemeanors: but to this the king replied with ſo much ſpirit and eloquence, that the German princes exclaimed loudly againſt the conduct of the emperor; the pope threatened him with excommunication; and Henry, who had hearkened to the propoſals of the king of France and prince John, found that it would be impoſſible for him to execute his and their baſe purpoſes, and detain the king of England any longer in captivity. He therefore concluded a treaty with him for his ranſom; and agreed

agreed to reſtore him to his liberty for an hundred and fifty thouſand marks, about one hundred thouſand pounds of our money, of which one hundred thouſand marks were to be paid immediately, and ſixty-ſeven hoſtages delivered for the remainder.

Of the king's ranſom the duke of Auſtria was to have one-third for his ſhare. It is obſerved by ſeveral hiſtorians, that both the emperor and the duke of Auſtria, who had ſo baſely abuſed and impriſoned a Chriſtian prince, came to miſerable ends. The duke had his legs broken by a fall from his horſe, of which he died; and was ſo ſenſible of the injuſtice he had been guilty of, before he died, that he ordered the money ſhould not be demanded of king Richard, but the hoſtages to be immediately releaſed. The emperor alſo falling ſick in Sicily, and lying under the ſentence of excommunication, ſent his chancellor to beg king Richard's pardon, and promiſed to reſtore the money he had extorted from him.

The money for the king's ranſom was moſt cheerfully raiſed by the Engliſh. The churches and monaſteries melted down their plate to the amount of thirty thouſand marks; the biſhops, abbots, and monks, paid a fourth part of their yearly rent; the parochial clergy contributed a tenth part of their tythes; and, the requiſite ſum being thus collected, queen Eleanor and Walter archbiſhop of Rouen ſet out with it for Germany, paid the money to the emperor and duke of Auſtria at Mentz, delivered them hoſtages for the remainder, and freed Richard from his captivity. His eſcape was very critical. Henry had been detected in the aſſaſſination of the biſhop of Liege, and in an attempt of the like nature on the duke of Louvaine; and, finding himſelf extremely obnoxious to the German princes on account of theſe odious practices, he had determined to ſeek ſupport from an alliance with the French king, and to detain Richard in perpetual captivity, notwithſtanding the ſum he had already received

ed for his ranſom. He therefore gave orders that Richard ſhould be purſued and arreſted; but the king, making all imaginable haſte, had already embarked at the mouth of the Scheldt, and was out of ſight of land when the emperor's meſſengers reached Antwerp. The king of France no ſooner heard of Richard's deliverance, than he wrote to John his confederate in theſe terms: "Take care of yourſelf; the devil is broke looſe."

The king of England returned from captivity on the 20th of March 1194, and was received with the utmoſt joy by his ſubjects. He had been but one day landed, when his treacherous brother John came to make his ſubmiſſion. At the interceſſion of queen Eleanor he was received into favour: "I forgive him (ſaid the king), and hope I ſhall as eaſily forget his offences as he will my pardon." Richard was impatient to revenge himſelf on the king of France, and therefore inſtantly made war upon him; he found means to raiſe money, and prepared to go over to France, but ſtaid to be crowned again at Wincheſter, the ſolemnity of which was ſcarcely over, when news came to him, as he ſat at dinner, that the French king was beſieging Vernevil, which bringing to his mind his former injuſtice towards him, he was ſo enraged that he ſwore "he would not turn his face till he reached the French army." He therefore had the wall of the room broken down, and directly embarked onboard his fleet, conſiſting of an hundred ſail. The army which he took with him to Normandy was ſo conſiderable, that as ſoon as Philip received intelligence of his landing he raiſed the ſiege of Vernevil with ſo much haſte, that he neither ſtaid to take tents nor baggage with him. Richard purſued the French king into Touraine; and, being got near the town of Vendoſme, Philip, fearing to come to an action, ſent Richard word he would meet him next morning at the head of his army. But this was a French trick to gain time

time to run away; for Philip immediately decamped, and with so much precipitation, that he not only left behind him his baggage and treasure, but even the records of his kingdom. A treaty was soon after concluded between the two nations; but this treaty did not last very long, and in one year the English defeated the French three times. The most considerable action was near Gisorts, where the French king was in eminent danger of losing his life, by the breaking down of the bridge over the river Ept, as the victorious English were driving the French over it. King Richard in this battle defeated and took prisoners three of the bravest knights in Philip's army. Upon this occasion Richard put this motto upon his arms, DIEU ET MON DROIT, "God and my right." The next year a treaty for five years was agreed upon. During Richard's stay abroad, a Limosin gentleman found a great treasure on his estate, part of which he presented to Richard; but the king demanded the whole, because, he being sovereign of the county, *treasure trove* was his right. The gentleman, unwilling to give up the whole, secured it in the castle of Chalons, belonging to Vidomir count of Limoges. Richard therefore invested the place, but, as he was taking a view of the walls to attack them, one Bertrand shot an arrow from the walls and wounded him in the neck, which gangreening, he suffered great torture.

In the mean time the castle was taken, and Bertrand brought prisoner before the king, who asked him what injury he had ever done to him, that he endeavoured to kill him; to this he resolutely answered, "You killed, with your own hand, both my father and his brother; and, if I should be so fortunate as to rid the world of such a tyrant, I shall with pleasure undergo the greatest torture that can be inflicted upon me." Such firmness was too congenial with the spirit of Richard not to meet his admiration, even circumstanced as he was; he therefore not only pardoned him,

but ordered him a preſent, with which act of heroiſm he cloſed his life. Marcadee, who commanded the Flemiſh mercenaries under Richard, had no conception of ſuch generoſity: inſtead of fulfilling the dying command of his maſter, he ordered the miſerable wretch to be ſeized, and flead alive in his preſence.

A parallel might very well be drawn between this prince and the renowned madman of Sweden, Charles XII. The ſame fierce and undaunted ſpirit inſpired each of theſe princes; and, as they were incapable of fear, ſo were they of pity. The events of their lives too bear as cloſe a reſemblance as the formation of their minds; each, after triumphing in the field, being fated to endure a long and ſevere captivity, by which they evinced their firmneſs in adverſity; and, at length, each met his death whilſt reconnoitring a fortreſs to which he had laid ſiege. And it might be added, that each of theſe princes, deſtitute alike of the virtues and talents which conſtitute a truly great character, bravery alone excepted, ſo effectually dazzled the eyes of the people they governed, by their paſſion for military glory, as to obtain their concurrence in meaſures fatally deſtructive of the beſt intereſts of the ſtate.

In this, as well as the preceding reign, the freedom of the people was, in ſome meaſure, extended, by corporation charters, which diminiſhed the power of the barons, by weakening the feudal government. The people now began to have ſome, though but a ſmall, ſhare of power: the barons had ſtill vaſt authority, though leſs than formerly; whilſt the clergy might be conſidered as a body entirely diſtinct from the reſt of the community, governed by their own laws, and profeſſing ſubjection only to the pope.

Richard died on the 6th of April 1199, in the tenth year of his reign and the forty-ſecond of his age. By his will he left the kingdom to his brother John,

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John, but distributed a fourth part of his treasure among his servants.

John succeeded to the crown of England without opposition, but soon found his affairs embarrassed on the continent. The king of France, who, during the life of king Richard, had always supported the pretensions of John, now gave a like support to the claims of prince Arthur the son of Geoffrey, who, though only twelve years of age, promised to be deserving of the kingdom. But in this matter the king of France shewed so much regard to his own interest, that Constantia the mother of the young prince, thinking that her ally designed to keep for himself the provinces which he pretended to conquer for Arthur, submitted herself and her son to John, who detained them in Mans; and thus became undisputed master of the whole empire.

The new king was weak, tyrannical, cruel, and treacherous. In short, he seemed to be endowed with almost every bad quality that can fall to the share of man. His conduct, therefore, soon rendered him universally odious. Imagining himself now secure on the side of France, he indulged his passion for Isabella the daughter and heiress of the count of Angouleme, with whom he was much enamoured. His queen, the heiress of the family of Gloceſter, was still alive; and Isabella was married to the count de la Marche, though, by reason of her youth, the marriage had not been consummated. John persuaded the count de Angouleme to carry off his daughter from her husband; at the same time that he procured, under some pretence or other, a divorce from the queen. Thus he incurred the displeasure of the pope, and also of the count de la Marche, and a powerful confederacy was formed against him.

As John had neither courage nor policy sufficient to keep his barons in awe, he took a method for that purpose equally base and cruel. This was by hiring a set

of ruffians, whom he called his *champions*, to fight duels with them, in cases where they required to clear themselves from any charge by fighting a duel, according to the custom of those times. Thus he proposed to get rid of his refractory barons; but they, despising opponents who were so far below their rank, refused to fight with them, and a dangerous combination was formed among the barons against him.

Philip at last openly demanded of John, at an interview, that he should give up to Arthur Normandy and the rest of his provinces on the continent; which he refusing, Philip soon after invaded Normandy, and, before John could get his troops together, took several towns. Philip, in the interim, sent Arthur and the count de la Marche with a body of troops into Poictou to make a diversion on that side, and encourage the insurrection of the natives, who were now most of them in arms against king John, and had made themselves masters of several strong places in that province. Prince Arthur and the count de la Marche, arriving in Poictou, received intelligence that Eleanor the queen-mother was at Mirabel; they immediately invested the place, and became masters of the town; but the old queen retiring into the castle, gave her son time to come to her assistance; whereupon a battle was fought between the king of England on one side, and prince Arthur and the count de la Marche on the other, near the walls of Mirabel, where the English obtained a complete victory, and both Arthur and the earl were taken prisoners, together with the princess Eleanor, Arthur's sister, stiled the beauty of Bretagne, who was sent over into England, and remained prisoner in Bristol-castle till she died, being about forty years. The French king, receiving advice of the defeat of his confederates as he lay before Arches, raised the siege of that place with precipitation, and retired into his own territories.

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In the mean time, king John, having prince Arthur in his power, endeavoured by all the arguments he could uſe, to draw him off from the intereſt of Philip; but Arthur, it is ſaid, anſwered all his kind offers in a ſcornful manner. John was ſo exaſperated, that he ordered him to be confined cloſe priſoner in a ſtrong tower on the walls of Rouen, after which he was never heard of. It was univerſally believed that John had murdered him with his own hand; and this inflamed the general reſentment againſt him to ſuch a degree, that he ſoon after loſt all his French provinces. In 1205, the duchy of Normandy itſelf was alſo conquered by Philip, and John was forced to fly with diſgrace to England.

The king was reſolved to wreak his vengeance upon the barons, who, he pretended, had deſerted his ſtandard in Normandy. For this reaſon, he levied large ſums on their eſtates; in order, as he ſaid, to undertake an expedition to the continent. This expedition, however, he ſeveral times capriciouſly deferred; and once, having ventured out to ſea, returned again without making the ſmalleſt attempt. At laſt, he landed at Rochelle, and burnt the city of Angiers; but, hearing that the enemy were preparing to oppoſe him, he returned without attempting any thing elſe.

This irreſolute and cowardly behaviour of John made him contemptible in the eyes of his ſubjects; but the Norman princes had ſo far extended the prerogatives of the Engliſh crown, that the barons, however diſcontented, durſt not yet attempt to change the form of government. John, by entering into a controverſy with the church, completed his ruin. The clergy, who for ſome time had acted as a community totally independent of the civil power, had their elections of each other generally confirmed by the pope, to whom alone they owned ſubjection. The election of archbiſhops, however, had been a ſubject of continual diſpute between the ſuffragan biſhops and the Auguſtine monks.

About this time the archbiſhop of Canterbury died; and the Auguſtine monks, in a very private manner, elected Reginald, their ſuperior, in his place. The biſhops exclaimed againſt this election, as a manifeſt innovation of their privileges; and a furious theological conteſt was likely to enſue. John very imprudently took a ſide in this controverſy, and eſpouſed the cauſe of the ſuffragan biſhops; in conſequence of which John de Grey biſhop of Norwich was choſen. The cauſe was appealed to Rome; and pope Innocent III. ſeizing with avidity an opportunity of extending his power, commanded the monks to chooſe cardinal Stephen Langton, an Engliſhman, then at the court of Rome. The being able to nominate an archbiſhop of Canterbury (a perſon of almoſt equal authority with the king), was an acquiſition that would effectually give the court of Rome an unlimited authority over England. John therefore was reſolved not to ſubmit to this impoſition; but he had not judgment ſufficient to conduct him. He violently expelled the monks from their convent, and ſeized upon their revenues. The pope, perceiving from this abſurd conduct that John was unequal to the taſk he had undertaken, after ſome intreaties, threatened to put the whole kingdom under an interdict. The prelates threw themſelves on their knees before the king, and in the moſt earneſt manner intreated him to avoid the reſentment of the holy tribunal, by receiving the primate, and reſtoring the monks to their convent. John, however, broke out into the moſt violent invectives. He ſwore by *God's teeth* (his uſual oath), that, if the kingdom was put under an interdict, he would baniſh the whole body of the clergy, and confiſcate all their poſſeſſions. The pope at laſt, finding he might do it with ſafety, iſſued forth this terrible ſentence ſo much dreaded by the whole nation. A ſtop was immediately put to divine ſervice, and the adminiſtration of all the ſacraments except baptiſm. The church-doors were ſhut, and the

the images of the ſaints laid on the ground. The dead were refuſed Chriſtian burial; and were thrown into ditches and on the highways, without any funeral ſolemnity. Marriage was celebrated in the churchyards, and the people prohibited the uſe of meat as in times of public penance. They were debarred from all pleaſure; even from ſhaving their beards, ſaluting each other, or paying any regard to their apparel. The clergy deplored the unhappy ſtate of the nation in the moſt lamentable manner; while John, in revenge, impriſoned all their concubines, and treated the adherents of Langton with the utmoſt rigour.

The furious and imprudent efforts of John proved totally ineffectual. He had ſcarcely a friend left in the whole nation; and therefore, in 1209, the pope denounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt him. This was ſoon followed by another ſtill more terrible; namely, the abſolving all the ſubjects of the king of England from their allegiance, and declaring every one to be excommunicated who had any commerce with him at his table, council, or even in private converſation. The king, rendered quite furious by theſe repeated indignities, wreaked his vengeance on his unhappy ſubjects, whoſe affections he ought rather to have attempted to conciliate. The pope, therefore, proceeded to execute the full meaſure of his wrath on this devoted prince, by giving away his kingdom to Philip of France. He publiſhed a cruſade all over Europe againſt king John; exhorting the nobility, the knights, and men of every condition, to take up arms againſt him, and enliſt under the French banner. Philip was not leſs active on his part. He ſummoned all the vaſſals of the crown to attend him at Rouen; and, having collected a fleet of 1700 veſſels, was ready, in 1213, to invade England. To oppoſe this, John collected a ſuperior naval and military force, encamping ſixty thouſand men on Barham-Downs, in Kent, and, ſtationing his marine armaments (which were more con-

conſiderable that the Engliſh had poſſeſſed at any preceding æra) along the coaſts, in this poſture waited his enemy's arrival. Theſe naval preparations of Philip were the earlieſt efforts towards the eſtabliſhment of that marine in France which increaſed by ſlow but powerful degrees, and, at length, became able to contend with England for the empire of the ocean. During the reigns of the firſt ſovereigns of the third race, who governed that kingdom, the ſea-ports, and conſequently the ſhipping, were poſſeſſed by the great vaſſals of the crown. Among theſe the moſt conſiderable was the king of England, who held all the weſtern coaſt, from the mouth of Somme as far as Spain. Several of theſe maritime provinces having now reverted to the crown of France, Philip availed himſelf of theſe aquiſitions, by improving his harbours, and equipping his fleets. This new department in the ſtate was entruſted to one Euſtace, a monk; the profeſſion of arms being, in thoſe times, a common tranſition from a conſecration to religion. We are told, by a French writer, that the navy of France then amounted to ſeventeen hundred ſhips, or rather light gallies, navigated with oars. It was the practice of that age to make up in numbers what they wanted in ſtrength and convenience. To theſe were added many tranſports, which ſerved only to receive cargoes, not for martial operations. Such was the navy deſigned to aſſiſt in the conqueſt of England.

The pope had now overſtretched his power; and, had the Engliſh nation been governed by a prince of any degree of prudence or reſolution, the power of the clergy would in all probability have been totally broken. The people, however ſuperſtitious and ready to obey in matters of religion, could not tamely ſubmit to be given away by the pope as ſlaves from one maſter to another; and therefore this conſideration, added to the natural antipathy ſubſiſting between the French and Engliſh, put John, notwithſtanding all his offences, at

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the head of an army of ſixty thouſand men. But the pope was too great a politician to ſuffer matters to be carried to extremities. He promiſed himſelf many more advantages from the ſubmiſſion of John than from an alliance with Philip; and therefore came over in perſon, or, according to ſome, ſent over his legate, to England, under a pretence of conferring with the barons, but in reality to hold a conference with John. He there repreſented to this forlorn prince, the numbers of the enemy, the hatred of his own ſubjects, and the ſecret confederacy there was againſt him in England. He intimated, that there was but one way to ſecure him from the impending danger; namely, to put himſelf under the protection of the pope, who was a merciful father, and ſtill willing to receive a repenting ſinner. The abject and irreſolute ſpirit of John ſubmitted to this laſt piece of arrogance, and he took an oath to obey whatever the pope ſhould command. In conſequence of this oath, he took another, the moſt extraordinary mentioned in the records of hiſtory; and which, as it was taken while he commanded an army of ſixty thouſand men, diſcovers a meanneſs of ſpirit almoſt incredible. The terms impoſed by it were expreſſed in the following words: "I John, by the grace of God king of England and lord of Ireland, in order to expiate my ſins, from my own free will, and the advice of my barons, give to the church of Rome, to pope Innocent and his ſucceſſors, the kingdom of England and all other prerogatives of my crown. I will hereafter hold them as the pope's vaſſal. I will be faithful to God, to the church of Rome, to the pope my maſter, and his ſucceſſors legitimately elected. I promiſe to pay him a tribute of one thouſand marks; to wit, ſeven hundred for the kingdom of England, and three hundred for the kingdom of Ireland."

This oath was taken by the king before all the people, kneeling, and with his hands held up between thoſe of the legate. Having then agreed to reinſtate

Langton in the primacy, he received the crown which he had been ſuppoſed to have forfeited; while the legate, to add to his former inſolence, trampled under his feet the tribute which John had conſented to pay. ---The king of France was enraged at this behaviour of the pope; and reſolved to execute his project of conquering England, in ſpite of him and all his cenſures. His fleet, however, was attacked in their harbours by the Engliſh, who took three hundred veſſels, and deſtroyed about an hundred more; while Philip, finding it impoſſible to prevent the reſt from falling into the hands of enemy, ſet fire to them himſelf, and thus was obliged to give up all hopes of ſucceſs.

On the other hand, king John, entering into an alliance with the emperor and the earl of Flanders, thought himſelf now in a condition to attempt the recovery of the territories he had loſt in France, whereupon he commanded his troops to rendezvous at Portſmouth; but, when he was about to embark them, the barons declared they could not follow him. The king however imagining this was but a pretence, and that they would follow him, embarked and ſailed as far as the iſle of Jerſey; but, underſtanding the barons were marched home again, he found himſelf obliged to return to England. The pope appeared now, and ordered the exiled clergy to accept of forty thouſand marks in lieu of all their demands, and the legate took off the interdict on the 29th of June, 1214. Now king John, having prevailed on the barons to paſs the ſeas with him, recovered great part of the province of Poictou, after which he marched into Anjou; but the fickle Poictovins deſerting him juſt as he was about to give battle to Louis the dauphin, and Philip obtaining a complete victory over his allies the Imperialiſts and Flemings at Bovines, he thought fit to return to England, having firſt concluded a truce with France for five years; after which he found himſelf ſo much embarraſſed by domeſtic troubles, that he never

never made any further attempt towards the recovery of his foreign dominions.

John, however, continued to follow the ſame cruel and tyrannical meaſures which had hitherto rendered him odious to his ſubjects. His ſcandalous ſubjection to the clergy now gave the barons an opportunity of exerting themſelves, in order to reduce the enormous prerogatives of the crown. Their deſign was greatly facilitated by the concurrence of Langton the primate, who on all occaſions ſhewed a ſincere regard for the intereſts of the kingdom. At a ſynod of his prelates and clergy, convened at St. Paul's, on pretence of examining into the loſſes of ſome biſhops who had been exiled by John, he privately conferred with a number of barons, to whom he expatiated upon the vices and injuſtice of their ſovereign. He ſhewed them a copy of Henry the firſt's charter; (being the only one in the kingdom, and which had been buried in the rubbiſh of an obſcure monaſtery.) Langton exhorted the barons to inſiſt on a renewal of it; and this they ſolemnly ſwore to perform. The ſame agreement was afterwards renewed at a more numerous meeting of barons ſummoned by Langton at St. Edmonſbury. Here it was reſolved that at Chriſtmas they would prefer their common petition in a body; and in the mean time they ſeparated with a deſign to put themſelves in a poſture of defence, enliſt men, and fortify their caſtles. In the beginning of January 1215, they repaired to London, accoutred in their military garb and equipage, and preſented their petition to the king, alledging that he had promiſed to grant a confirmation of the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, at the time he was abſolved from his excommunication. John reſented their preſumption; and required a promiſe, under their hands and ſeals, that they would never demand, or attempt to extort, ſuch privileges for the future. This they refuſed with ſuch unanimity and reſolution, that the king deſired time to conſider of their demands. He promi-

ſed, that, at the feſtival of Eaſter, he would give a poſitive anſwer to their petition; and offered them the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhop of Ely, and the earl mareſchal, as ſureties for fulfilling his engagements.

The barons accepted of his ſecurities, and departed peaceably; but John had no deſign of complying with their deſires. He had recourſe to the clergy, whoſe power he had ſeen and felt in ſo many inſtances. He courted their favour, by granting them a charter eſtabliſhing all thoſe rights of which they were already in the poſſeſſion, and which he now pretended to confirm when he had not the liberty to refuſe. To ingratiate himſelf ſtill farther with this body, he took the croſs, and appealed to the pope againſt the uſurpation of the barons. The pope wrote letters to England, reproaching the primate and biſhops with favouring theſe diſſentions; and, commanded them to promote peace between the two parties. He exhorted the barons to conciliate the king, not with menaces, but with humble intreaties; and promiſed, upon their obedience, to interpoſe his own authority in favour of ſuch of their petitions as he ſhould find to be juſt. At the ſame time he annulled their aſſociation, and forbade them to enter into any confederacy for the future.

The barons paid no regard to the pope's remonſtrances; knowing that the fulminations of the court of Rome would be of little avail, unleſs they were ſeconded by the clergy of England. After waiting till Eaſter, when the king promiſed to return them an anſwer, they met by agreement at Stamford. There they aſſembled a force of above two thouſand knights, and a prodigious number of foot. Thence they marched to Brackley, about fifteen miles from Oxford, the place where the court then reſided. John, hearing of their approach, ſent the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the earl of Pembroke, and others of his council, to know the particulars of their requeſt,

queſt, and what thoſe liberties were which they ſo much importuned him to grant. The barons delivered a ſchedule containing the chief articles of their demands, founded on the charters of Henry and Edward; but which were in the higheſt degree diſpleaſing to the king. He burſt into a furious paſſion, aſked the barons why they did not alſo demand his kingdom, and ſwore that he never would comply with ſuch exhorbitant demands. The confederates then choſe Robert Fitz-Walter for their general; whom they dignified with the title of "Mareſchal of the army of God and of the holy church." They laid ſiege to Northampton, took Bedford, and were joyfully received into London. They wrote letters to all the nobility and gentry who had not yet declared in their favour, threatening their eſtates with devaſtation in caſe of refuſal or delay.

In the mean time the king was left at a place called Odiham in Hampſhire, attended only by ſeven knights. He vainly endeavoured to avert the ſtorm by the mediation of his biſhops and miniſters. He appealed to Langton againſt the barons, not ſuſpecting that he was engaged in the confederacy; and deſired him to fulminate the church-cenſures againſt thoſe who had made war upon their lawful prince. Langton declared that he would paſs no cenſure where he found no delinquent; but ſaid, that much might be done if the king would diſmiſs ſome foreign auxiliaries which he had lately brought over. Upon this John diſbanded a great body of Germans and Flemings whom he had hitherto retained in his ſervice, but Langton refuſed to excommunicate a ſingle baron. The king, being now quite defenceleſs, was obliged at laſt to comply with the demands of his ſubjects. A conference was accordingly appointed, and all things were adjuſted for this moſt important treaty.

The king's commiſſioners met the barons at a place called Runimede, between Staines and Windſor; and

which is yet held in reverence as the ſpot where the ſtandard of Freedom was firſt erected in England. Here the king ſigned the charter called *Magna Charta*; which continues in force to this day, and is ſtill regarded as the great bulwark of Britiſh liberty.

This charter may be ſaid to derive its origin from king Edward the Confeſſor, who granted ſeveral privileges to the church and ſtate by charter: theſe liberties and privileges were alſo granted and confirmed by king Henry I. by a celebrated great charter now loſt. The charter, however, ſecured liberty to the clergy, barons, and gentlemen, much more than to the bulk of the people, who did not for a long time obtain any privileges of importance. Freedom of elections was ſecured to the clergy; and it was determined, that fines on them for any offence ſhould be laid on in proportion to their eſtates, and not to the value of their benefices. The privileges ſecured to the barons were, either abatements in the rigour of the feudal laws, or relief from arbitrary and ambiguous deciſions before the courts. It was alſo decreed that barons ſhould recover the lands of their vaſſals, even though forfeited by felony, after having been in the poſſeſſion of the crown for a year and a day; and no tax was to be impoſed without conſent of the great council of the nation, excepting in caſe of the captivity of the king, the knighting of his eldeſt ſon, or marrying his eldeſt daughter. No land belonging to any baron was to be ſeized for a crown debt, unleſs the poſſeſſor had not perſonal property enough to pay it; neither was any vaſſal to be allowed to ſell ſo much of his land as to incapacitate him from performing the neceſſary ſervice to his lord. It was alſo determined, that, when the great council of the nation was called, the prelates, earls, and barons, ſhould be ſummoned by a particular writ, and the inferior barons ſhould receive a ſummons from the ſheriff. In favour of the people it was ſtipulated, that they ſhould have from the barons

all the immunities and privileges granted by the king to the former. Merchants were to be allowed to carry on their buſineſs without any arbitrary tolls or impoſitions, and to go out of the kingdom and to return at pleaſure. The goods of every freeman were to be diſpoſed of according to his will; and, if he died inteſtate, the neareſt heir was to ſucceed him. No carts, horſes, or wood, were to be taken by the crown officers without the conſent of their owner. The king's courts were to be ſtationary, and no delay to be made in doing juſtice to every one; no freeman ſhould be taken or impriſoned, diſpoſſeſſed of his free tenement, outlawed or baniſhed, unleſs by the legal judgment of his peers, &c. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that London ſhould remain in the hands of the barons, and the tower be conſigned to the primate, till the 15th of Auguſt following, or till the articles of the charter ſhould be fulfilled. To give the more ſecurity for this, the king allowed them to chooſe twenty-five of their own number, to whoſe authority no limits were ſet either in extent or duration: if any complaint was made of a violation of the charter, either by the king or his officers, any four of the barons might admoniſh the king to redreſs the grievance; and, if ſatisfaction were not obtained, they might aſſemble the whole council of twenty-five; and they, in conjunction with the great council, were empowered to compel him to fulfil the charter. In caſe of his reſiſtance, they had liberty to levy war againſt him, attack his caſtles, and uſe every kind of violence except againſt his perſon, or thoſe of the queen or children. All men throughout the kingdom were bound, under the penalty of confiſcation, to ſwear obedience to the twenty-five barons: and the freeholders of each county were to chooſe twelve knights, whoſe buſineſs it was to report ſuch evil cuſtoms as ought to be redreſſed in terms of Magna Charta.

This

This excellent charter, ſo equitable, and beneficial to the ſubject, is the moſt ancient written law in the kingdom. By the 25th Edward I. it is ordained, that it ſhall be taken as the common law; and by the 43d Edward III. all ſtatutes made againſt it are declared to be void.

But although John had thus obliged himſelf, by writing, to allow liberty to his ſubjects, he had no mind that they ſhould enjoy it in reality. The ſenſe of his ſubjection to his own vaſſals ſunk deep in his mind. He became ſullen, ſilent, and reſerved. He ſhunned the ſociety of his former friends; and retired into the Iſle of Wight, as if to hide his diſgrace in ſolitude; but, in reality, to meditate revenge againſt the barons. He ſent to the continent to enliſt a large body of mercenary troops, and made complaints to the pope of the inſurrections of the barons againſt him. The pontiff very warmly eſpouſed his cauſe; a bull was ſent over, annulling the whole charter; and at the ſame time the foreign troops arriving, the king once more found himſelf in a condition to demand his own terms from his ſubjects.

The barons had made no preparations for war, not ſuſpecting the introduction of a foreign army. The king, therefore, was for ſome time undiſputed maſter of the field, and the moſt horrid cruelties were committed by his army. The nobility who had been moſt active in procuring the great charter fled with their families to Scotland, where they obtained the protection of king Alexander by doing homage to him. The barons being totally unable to raiſe an army capable of contending with that of John, applied to their old enemy Philip of France, offering to acknowledge his eldeſt ſon Louis for their ſovereign, on condition of his protecting them from the fury of John and his mercenaries. The French king accepted their propoſal with joy; and, twenty-five hoſtages which he demanded being ſent over, began to make the moſt diligent preparations

parations for this expedition, regardleſs of the menaces of the pope, who threatened him with excommunication, and actually excommunicated his ſon Louis ſome time after.

The firſt troops who came to the aſſiſtance of the barons were only a body of ſeven thouſand men; but, ſoon after, Louis with a powerful army landed at Sandwich. The firſt effect of this invaſion was, that moſt of John's foreign troops deſerted, refuſing to ſerve againſt the heir of their monarchy. Many conſiderable noblemen alſo deſerted his cauſe, and Louis daily gained ground. This prince advanced to London, where the barons and burghers did him homage, and took the oath of allegiance, after he had ſworn to confirm the liberties and privileges of the people. His imprudence, however, in preferring on all occaſions his French ſubjects to the Engliſh, ſoon excited a jealouſy againſt him, which proved very prejudicial to his cauſe. This jealouſy was greatly increaſed by the death-bed confeſſion of the count de Melun, one of his courtiers, who declared to thoſe about him, that it was Louis's deſign to exterminate the Engliſh barons as traitors, and to beſtow their dignities and eſtates upon his French ſubjects, on whoſe fidelity he could more ſafely rely. This cauſed a conſiderable deſertion among Louis's party: ſo that John once more found himſelf in a condition to make ſome effort for his crown. He reſolved to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom; and for this purpoſe he departed from Lynn, and took the road towards Lincolnſhire at the head of a great body of troops. His road lay along the ſhore, which was overflowed at high water; but the king not being appriſed of this, or being ignorant of the tides of the place, loſt all his carriages, treaſure, and baggage, by their influx. He himſelf eſcaped with the utmoſt difficulty, and arrived at the abbey of Swinſtead; where his grief for the loſs he had ſuſtained, and the diſtracted ſtate of his affairs, threw him into a fever, which ſoon appeared

appeared to be attended with fatal ſymptoms. He died at Newark in the year 1216, the fifty-firſt of his age, and eighteenth of his reign.

The unprincipled baſeneſs and groſs incapacity of this prince are too apparent, throughout his whole reign, to admit of palliation; and the writer who undertakes to repreſent this prince as brave and patriotic muſt ſurely be ſtrongly influenced by a reſpect to the doctrine of the divine right of kings, and conceive a ſtrong diſreliſh of all efforts of the ſubject to throw off the ſhackles of tyranny: however, we agree with a certain writer, that John, very early in his reign, aſſerted the dominion of England over the ſea, by enacting, that, if any of the commanders of his fleets ſhould meet with ſhips of a foreign nation at ſea, the maſters of which refuſed to ſtrike to the royal flag, ſuch ſhips, if taken, ſhould be deemed lawful prizes, even though they belonged to a ſtate in amity with England. Which plainly indicates, that this ſtriking to the royal flag was an old right, now expreſsly claimed, in order to give the fulleſt warrant to Engliſh captains tenaciouſly to inſiſt on the form of reſpect required by their country, and to appriſe all other ſtates of the expediency of paying it. He alſo granted more and larger charters, to cities and boroughs, than any of his predeceſſors, it being his intereſt to create a popular intereſt, independent of and oppoſite to that of the barons. But in theſe grants the good of his ſubjects was only ſubordinate to the avarice of the prince; for, in the firſt year of his reign, we find him extorting ſix thouſand pounds ſterling from the citizens of London, for a renewal of their charter; and, in the ninth year of his reign, another charter was granted, whereby they firſt obtained a right of chooſing a mayor, out of their own body, annually; which office, until then, was for life; by the ſame charter they were empowered to elect, or remove, their ſheriffs at pleaſure; and their common-councilmen were

were annually chosen, as at present. He settled the rates of necessaries, and punished commercial frauds: he likewise made many regulations with respect to money; and, in his reign, was the first coinage of that sort which is called sterling.

Of the Feudal Government, and Formation of the Army at this Time, in Britain.

TO understand the nature of the feudal government, we must look back to the origin of customs, and the the partition of lands. Every landed territory must have been divided originally between the prince and the people. The lot to the sovereign was to constitute his *domains*. The lot or partition to the individual was the land which was *free*, and was named *propriety*, in contradistinction to *tenure*; and, being the mark of a *citizen*, it subjected him to the general obligation of taking arms in defence of the community.

But the domains of the sovereign, and the lands of partition to the people, could not exhaust all the territory of a country. Much extensive property, and many fair possessions, remained, in which the community was concerned, but to which a particular individual could lay no claim. The king, therefore, as representing the state, was to take the direction of them; and these in time were granted away to certain barons or chiefs, who governed in different districts, and presided over the mass of the people. The sovereign and the chiefs owed their rank or estimation generally to their birth, but often to their merits. The former was ambitious to support with lustre the honour he sustained; the latter were studious to deserve his favour, and to vie with one another. The people, as they were struck with the valour of particular chiefs, roused themselves under their banners, and retained or attached themselves to their fortunes.---It was the great emu-

lation of the chiefs to excel in the number and the courage of their retainers. In the field it was infamous in the chief to be ſurpaſſed in valour; it was infamous in the retainers not to imitate the valour of the chief. To guard and to defend his perſon, and to aſcribe to his glory all their gallant acts, was their greateſt pride. The chief fought for the king; the retainer for the chief; and here we may trace the *foundations* of the feudal aſſociations; the chiefs, having received portions of the ſurplus lands, were in return to preſent themſelves in arms at the call of the ſovereign; and the chiefs, by parcelling out theſe lands again to their retainers, bound them by a like injunction to continue to them their aid; and thus a political ſyſtem was founded, which afterwards came to act upon ſociety with ſuch amazing efficacy.

Of this ſyſtem the intention and the ſpirit were national defence and domeſtic independence. While it called out the inhabitant and the citizen to defend his property and to ſecure his tranquillity, it oppoſed barriers to deſpotiſm. Growing out of liberty, it was to promote the freedom of the ſubject. The ambition of the ſovereign was checked by the chiefs, who formed the order of nobility; and the ariſtocracy, or power of the chiefs, was repreſſed by the retainers and vaſſals, who, conſtituting their greatneſs, always attracted their attention. The chief who oppreſſed his retainers and vaſſals, deſtroyed his own importance. It was their numbers and their attachment only, which made him formidable to his prince and to his equals. And thus the domains of the ſovereign, the free lands of the citizen, and thoſe granted in fee, or in fiefs, took their origin, and formed the bonds by which all ranks were held together, for the common benefit of the whole.

In this ſtate of things, the chiefs or barons poſſeſſed a military authority, and a civil juriſdiction. In war they led on and commanded their vaſſals and retainers,

tainers, and they judged and decided their disputes in time of peace. The inhabitants of their territories were soldiers and subjects. Their castle and household bore a resemblance to the palace and the establishments of the sovereign. They had their subordinate officers, and their courts of judicature; and they exercised the powers of punishment and mercy. They even exerted the privilege of making war against each other; and the sovereign could behold subjects in arms, who infringed not their allegiance to the state.

It is thus that a prerogative arose which filled the land with confusion. Nobles, haughty and independent, did not think of accepting a fine as a compensation for an insult, and submitted not their disputes to a judge. They brought them to the decision of the sword; and their vassals and retainers, entering into their sentiments and feelings, partook of their glory or disgrace. They were a sort of rivals, whom nothing could unite but the enemies of the state, or the encroachments of the sovereign. To repress either of these they would unite and act with cordiality; but in their usual carriage to one another, they were sullen, jealous, and proud; whence it was their chief employment to vie in displays of magnificence, or to try their strength in the field.

In this state of tumult, produced by the exercise of the prerogative of private war, a most important distinction was effected between the holders of fiefs, and the possessors of all allodial or free property. While, in the imperfection of government, the magistrate could not extend his power with equal force over all the orders of society; while the weak were exposed to the insults of the strong; while nobles, haughty and imperious, could prosecute their resentments with the sword, revenge their wrongs, and gratify their avarice and cruelty, the holders of fiefs enjoyed a supreme advantage over the holders of free land. A baron, and his retainers, connected together in an intimate alliance,

following the ſame ſtandard, and adopting the ſame paſſions, could act with concert and efficacy; but *free* or *allodial* proprietors were altogether diſqualified to defend themſelves. Being of no party, they could form and ſupport no continued or powerful confederacy; and the laws did not permit them to enter into factions and hoſtilities. The violence of the times created an abſurdity. It gave to gifts under ſervice, and revertible to the grantor, a value ſuperior to lands which were held in full property, and at the diſpoſal of the poſſeſſor. It made neceſſary the converſion of *free land* into *tenure!*

Nor was this the only conſideration which had weight with the poſſeſſors of free land. Sovereigns, bent on the extenſion of fiefs, diſcouraged ſuch proprietors. Their ambition, their abilities, and their prerogatives, furniſhed them with the greateſt influence; and they employed it to give univerſality to a ſyſtem, which was calculated to ſupport the royal dignity and the national importance. Mortified with royal neglect, without ſufficient protection from the laws, expoſed to the inſolence and ravages of the great, and to the rudeneſs and contempt of their vaſſals, they were driven into the circle of fiefs. They courted the privileges and the protection which were enjoyed by vaſſals. They ſubmitted their eſtates to tenure, under the direction of a baron or ſuperior moſt contiguous and agreeable, granting to him their lands, and receiving them back as a feudal donation.

In this direction of affairs, the extenſion of the feudal inſtitution was unbounded. The landed property was every where changed into feudality. The empire of fiefs was univerſal. Even land, the great ſource and medium of tenure, was inſufficient for the multitude of thoſe who preſſed to be vaſſals. Every matter that was an object of profit, of pleaſure, or of uſe, became the foundation of a fief. The right of judging the delicts committed in a foreſt, the right of the

chaſe, or of hunting in a certain diſtrict, the tax on public roads, the privilege of eſcorting merchants to a fair or market, offices of truſt or of juſtice, the ſwarms of bees in a woody territory, the profits of a mill, the fiſhing in a water, the allotment of a penſion, and other rights and poſſeſſions, now came to be held as fiefs. Imagination was exhauſted to invent methods of infeudation; and here the univerſality of fiefs began. The holders or vaſſals were bound to military ſervice, and ſubject to obligations; and the chief and the eminent, in conſequence of this policy, extended and maintained their public magnificence, their private conſideration, and the conflicts and animoſities in which they were involved by their own ambition, and the oſtentation of others.

The ſteps which marked the feudal progreſs, ſerved to foſter its ſway and ſpirit; and to the manners of ages, which we too often deſpiſe as rude and ignoble, not to political reflection or legiſlative wiſdom, is that ſyſtem to be aſcribed, which acted ſo long and ſo powerfully in ſociety, and became the harbinger of infinite advantage and infinite calamity. It is to thoſe only who apply to rude ſocieties the ideas of a cultivated æra, that theſe inſtitutions appear to reſult from an enlightened policy. They remember not the inexperience of dark ages, and the attachment of nations to their ancient uſages. They conſider not, that if an individual, in ſuch times, were to ariſe of a capacity to frame ſchemes of legiſlation and government, he could not reduce them to execution. He could not mould the conceptions of ſtates to correſpond to his own. It is from no pre-conceived plan, but from circumſtances which exiſt in real life and manners, that legiſlators and politicians acquire an aſcendancy among men. It was the actual condition of their times, not projects ſuggeſted by philoſophy and ſpeculation, that directed the conduct of Lycurgus and Solon.

From

From the ſtate of the feudal barons, and the exertion of the right of private war, it reſulted, that the lower orders of men were courted and attended to in an uncommon degree. The military retainers of a noble, and the inhabitants of his lands, conſtituted his power; and it was not his intereſt to neglect men who might offer their ſervice to an enemy. They ſhared in his property and greatneſs, were flattered with his countenance, and formed the bulwark which ſupported him. His own ſons, thoſe of his vaſſals and tenants, and the ambitious youth whom his renown attracted from a diſtance, learned under his direction the art of war, and hence came the honours of chivalry, and knighthood.

Every deſcendant of a gentleman, or every free-born perſon, began now to bear arms, and to aſpire to become a knight; and a long train of ſervices prepared him to receive it. From his earlieſt years he became accuſtomed to perils and toils; he acquired, by degrees, the whole ſcience of attack and of defence; and, when his hard apprenticeſhip was over, he acted himſelf as a knight, and ſought and wiſhed for ſtill ſeverer trials to exerciſe his ambition. To adorn him with arms, was originally, as before remarked, the ſimple ceremonial which inveſted the warrior with knighthood. The candidate preſented himſelf in a church, where he confeſſed his ſins, and declared his repentance and remorſe. Abſolution was then given him, and he paſſed the night in watching and pious meditation. In the morning he heard maſs, and, approaching the altar, placed his ſword upon it, which was returned to him, with benedictions, by the hands of the prieſt. The euchariſt was next adminiſtered to him; and, having been bathed, to expreſs the purity which was neceſſary for the ſtate into which he was to enter, he was dreſſed in rich robes, and his ſpurs and his ſword were put on. He then appeared before his ſovereign or his chief, and, receiving a blow upon the neck, was dubbed a knight. This parade,

parade, courtly as well as ſacred, was concluded with feaſting and merriment. But while, in times of feſtival and peace, the admiſſion to this honour was thus ſtately and ambitious, a gentle ſtroke with the ſword was ſufficient, during war, to intitle to its privileges; and, in this form, in the day of a battle, or in the hour of victory, it was uſual to beſtow it, in order to reward the valiant, and to encourage proweſs.

When the warrior was promoted to knighthood, the company and tables of the ſovereign and the nobles were open to him; and in times, when perſonal qualities were the great ſources of renown and merit, no diſtinction was more conſiderable or important. It was permitted to him to wear gold, fur, and ſilk, and to ſurpaſs in the richneſs of his dreſs and arms. When a priſoner, and in the power of a conqueror, his rank preſerved him from an unworthy or ignominious treatment. His word or promiſe might be relied upon with the firmeſt aſſurance. Fetters and chains were only fit for the ignoble. When the chief or the baron to whom he was more particularly attached, required not his aid, he might enter into the ſervice of another maſter. Penſions and preſents rewarded his proweſs; and he was enriched by the ſhare he received in the ſpoils of an enemy, and by the ranſoms of his captives. His uſual appearance in the field was on horſeback, attended by an eſquire; and, if his wealth ſo increaſed that he could afford to have knights to his train, his ſovereign allowed him the uſe of a banner or a ſtandard like the barons; and, like them, he exerciſed a civil as well a military juriſdiction. Nor did his death terminate the honours which were paid to him. The ſolemnity and ceremonies of his funeral, expreſſed his merits and the public regrets. A monument was erected to him, and the ornaments with which it was embelliſhed, ſuiting his actions and hiſtory, inſpired his poſterity with a generous emulation. The ſword which he had carried to battle, the ſhield which had defended his body,

and

and the other articles of his dreſs and armour, became the objects of reſpect and veneration. The moſt illuſtrious perſons courted their poſſeſſion, and churches were often eſteemed the only proper repoſitories of theſe attendants of his victories and valour. Hence the introduction of monuments, hatchments, trophies, &c.

Splendid with knighthood, of which the honour was ſo great as to give dignity even to kings and to princes, the generous and the aſpiring were received in every quarter with attention and civility. The gates of every palace, and of every caſtle, were thrown open to them; and, in the ſociety of the fair, the brave releived the ſeverities of war, and fed their paſſion for arms. Though it was the ſtudy of the knight to conſult the defence and the glory of the ſtate, and to add to the ſtrength and the reputation of his chief, yet the praiſe of his miſtreſs was the ſpring of his valour, and the ſource of his activity. It was for her that he fought and conquered. To her all his trophies were conſecrated. Her eye lighted up in his boſom the fire of ambition. His enterpriſe, his courage, his ſplendour, his renown, proclaimed the power and the fame of her perfections.

The women failed not to feel their dominion. The dignity of rank and its properties, the pride of riches, the rivalſhip of beauty, unfolded their excellence and charms. Their natural modeſty, the ſanctity of marriage, the value of chaſtity, improved with time and with Chriſtianity. The reſpectful intercourſe they held with the knights, the adoration paid to them, the tournaments at which they preſided, the virtues they inſpired, the exploits atchieved to their honour, concurred to promote their elevation and luſtre. To their enamoured votaries they ſeemed to be divinities; and toils, conflicts, and blood, purchaſed their favour and their ſmiles.

In

In the ſeaſons of feſtivity and peace, jouſts and tournaments exerciſed the military proweſs of the knight. Theſe images of war were announced with parade and ceremony. Judges were appointed to determine in them, and to maintain the laws of chivalry; and they were generally ſelected from among the aged knights, who came in crouds to live over again the ſcenes they had acted, and to encourage and direct the intrepidity and the ſkill of the aſpiring youth. The combatants, entering the liſts ſlowly, and with a grave and majeſtic air, pronounced aloud the names of the ladies to whom they had vowed their hearts and their homage. This privilege they had obtained at the expence of many a gallant atchievement; and they were preſented by the fair ones with a ribbon, a bracelet, a veil, or ſome detached ornament of their dreſs, which they affixed to their helmets or their ſhields, and conſidered as the pledges of victory. Theſe pledges were called *faveur*; and hence the pieces of lace or ribbon which are yet diſtributed at marriages, are termed the bride's *favours*. The operation of love and of glory, ſo powerful in the inſtitution of knighthood, was advanced and inſpired by religion. To defend Chriſtianity with his ſword and his life, became a ſacred vow, to which every knight was ambitious to ſubmit. The weak and the oppreſſed, the orphan and the widow, had a particular claim to his protection. To diſobey their call, was to incur diſhonour and infamy. He ſeemed, in ſome meaſure, to be entruſted with the power of the magiſtrate; and the faſhion of the times made him forward to employ his arm, and to ſpill his blood, in the cauſe of innocence and virtue.

Thus war, gallantry, and devotion, conſpired to form the character of the knight. And theſe manners, ſo lofty and ſo romantic, for ages gave a ſplendour to Britain, by directing the fortunes of its princes, and by producing examples of magnanimity and valour, which amid the anarchy and confuſion of the times,

curbed the violence of tyranny, and secured to posterity the standard of liberty and the blessings of freedom.

The distinction of these different points of the feudal association, though neglected by the antiquary, the lawyer, and the historian, is yet a matter of the greatest importance. It is, in some measure, the key to the history of modern times. It will lead us to discover many mistakes and misapprehensions which conceal and deform topics of the highest moment and curiosity. It will overthrow many positions which have perplexed and misled the researches of the learned, and the reasonings of the speculative.

While simplicity of manners continued to animate the feudal association, it was noble in its principles and useful in its practice. In the ardour of private confederacies, the feelings of generosity were augmented. The emotions of the heart increased their force by confinement. And the lord and the vassal were linked to each other in the closest connection. The arms and the zeal of his followers were the strength and the bulwark of the chief or the superior. The bounty and the power of the chief or the superior were the subsistence and protection of the followers or the vassals. Their interests and their passions were the same; and a constant communication of good offices kept alive their attachments.

The vassal, kneeling before his lord, and putting his hands into his, acknowledged him for his superior; "I become," said he, "your man, from this day forward, for life, and limb, and earthly honour." The lord, receiving him in his arms, gave him the kiss, which bestowed his countenance and favour. This rite, known under the appellation of *homage*, expressed submission and reverence on the part of the vassal, protection and defence on the part of the lord. The oath of *fealty*, or the engagement of fidelity, was then pronounced. "Hear this, my lord," said the vassal, "I will be faithful and loyal to you, for the tenements I hold

hold. So help me God and his ſaints." They were exact to obligations in which were compriſed their intereſt, their glory, and their pleaſure. In every act of civil life, in peace and in war, they found alike the uſes and advantages of their union. In the caſtle of the lord, the vaſſal added to his retinue, and proclaimed his magnificence. In his court he aſſiſted in the adminiſtration of juſtice. In the field, he fought by his ſide, and covered his perſon with his ſhield. On the foundation of their connection, and of that of the land or fief, which the former beſtowed on the latter, a train of *incidents* aroſe, from whence ſprung the unequivocal expreſſions of friendſhip and habitude, the tender and affectionate fruits of an intercourſe the moſt devoted and zealous.

While the grants of land were precarious, or for life, the ſuperior was fond to educate in his hall the expectants of his fiefs. And, when they deſcended to a ſeries of heirs, or in perpetuity, he was careful, on the death of the feudator, to take the charge of his ſon and his eſtate. The former was a hope to him of future greatneſs. He protected his perſon, directed his education, and watched over his concerns. He felt a pride in obſerving his approaches to manhood, and delivered to him, on his majority, the lands of his anceſtor, which he had been ſtudious to improve. Theſe cares begat the *incident* of *wardſhip*.

The vaſſal, on entering to his fief, conſcious of gratitude, and won with the attentions of his lord, made him a preſent. This acknowledgement, ſo natural, and ſo commendable, produced the *incident* of *relief*.

Grateful for the paſt, and anxious for the future favour of his chief, the vaſſal did not incline to ally himſelf to a family which was hoſtile to him. The chief was ambitious to add to his power and ſplendour, by conſulting the advantageous alliance of his vaſſal. They joined in finding out the lady whoſe charms and

whoſe connections might accord with the paſſions of the one and the policy of the other. This attention gave eſtabliſhment to the *incident* of *marriage*.

When the ſuperior was reduced to diſtreſs and captivity, in the courſe of public or of private wars, when he was in embarraſſment from prodigality or waſte, when he required an augmentation of means to ſupport his grandeur, or to advance his ſchemes and ambition, the vaſſal was forward to relieve and aſſiſt him by the communication of his wealth. On this foundation grew the *incident* of *aid*.

When the vaſſal gave way to violence and diſorder, or when by cowardice, treachery, or any ſtriking delinquence, he rendered himſelf unworthy of his fief, the ſacred ties which bound him to his lord were infringed. It was neceſſary to deprive him of his land, and to give it to a more honourable holder. This was the origin of the *incident* of *eſcheat*.

Amidſt the contention of friendſhip, and the mutuality of mind which exerciſed and informed the lord and the vaſſal, there was experienced a condition of activity, liberty, and happineſs. The vaſſals attended to the retainers who were immediately below them. In their turn, they were courted by the lords, whoſe ſtrength they conſtituted. And the lords gave importance to the ſovereign. A ſubordination was known, which was regular, compact, and powerful. The conſtituent parts intereſted in government, as well as war, were attentive, in their ſeveral departments, to the purpoſes of order and juſtice; and, in national operations, they acted with an union that made them formidable. Of this aſſociation, political liberty was the reſult. And, while this fortunate ſtate of things continued, the people, in every country of Europe, came in arms to their national aſſembly, or appeared in it by their repreſentatives.

Such, in a more particular manner, was the condition of the Anglo-Saxon period of Britain; when the people,

people, happy alike in their individual and their politic capacity, as men and as citizens, came to bear, more reluctantly, the oppreſſions of the Norman times. The impreſſion of their felicity was never effaced during the ſucceſſion of the Norman princes, but produced the moſt memorable ſtruggles for liberty. Nor was it in England only that ſuch convulſions were experienced. The ſame injuſtice and oppreſſions which were to ſhake this nation, prevailed in every country of Europe, and gave a beginning to thoſe contentions which threatened deſtruction to their ancient independence.

In this iſland alone, the valour and the fortune of its inhabitants under a feudal aſſociation, taught freedom to revive in the midſt of tyranny. The barons and the people convinced King John of his condition and their own; and gave leſſons of inſtruction and policy to his ſucceſſors, which they could never forget without danger.

Many learned writers have ventured to aſſert, that the Anglo-Saxons were ſtrangers to fiefs, and that theſe were introduced into England by William the Conqueror. There are writers not leſs learned, who affirm, that fiefs were not introduced into England by the duke of Normandy, but prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons in the condition in which they were known under William. Great men range themſelves on each ſide of the queſtion, and I will not detract from their merits. But it will be permitted to me to expreſs my ſentiments.

It cannot be true, that the Saxons, who ſettled in England, were ſtrangers to fiefs. For, in this caſe, they muſt have renounced the manners to which they had been accuſtomed in Germany. They muſt have yielded to views different from all the other Gothic tribes who made conqueſts. They muſt have adopted new and peculiar cuſtoms. And hiſtory has not remarked theſe deviations and this diſſimilarity.

It

It cannot be true, that William the Norman introduced fiefs into England. The introduction of a ſyſtem ſo repugnant to all the inſtitutions which uſually govern men; which was to force into an uncommon direction both government and property; which was to hold out new maxims in public and in private life; which was to affect, in a particular manner, inheritance and eſtates; to give a peculiar form to juſtice and courts; to change the royal palace and the houſeholds of gentlemen; to overturn whatever was fixed and eſtabliſhed in cuſtoms and uſages; to innovate all the natural modes of thinking and of acting, could not poſſibly be the operation of one man, and of one reign.

Let us not be deceived by names and by authorities. Fiefs were to run the ſame career in England which they had experienced in the other countries of Europe. They were at pleaſure and annual, for life, a ſeries of years, and in perpetuity; and, in all theſe varieties, they were exhibited in the Anglo-Saxon period of our hiſtory. The hereditary grant, as well as the grant in its preceding fluctuations, was known to our Saxon anceſtors. Of this, the conformity of manners which muſt neceſſarily have prevailed between the Saxons, and all the other conquering tribes of Germany, is a moſt powerful and a ſatisfactory argument. Nor is it ſingle and unſupported. Hiſtory and law come in aid to analogy; and theſe things are proved by the ſpirit and text of the Anglo-Saxon laws, and by actual grants of hereditary eſtates under military ſervice.

It is, at the ſame time, not leſs true, that the ſtate of fiefs in England, under William the Norman, differed moſt eſſentially from their condition among the Anglo-Saxons. The writers, therefore, who contend that they exiſted in the ages previous to Duke William, in the ſame form in which they appeared after his advancement to the crown, are miſtaken. For, under

under the Anglo-Saxon princes, no mention is made of thoſe *feudal ſeverities* adopted by the Normans, which ſo often ſhook the throne under William and his ſucceſſors. Yet fiefs, under the Anglo-Saxons, in every ſtep of their progreſſion, muſt have been connected with thoſe feudal *incidents* which were the *ſources* of theſe ſeverities.

This difficulty, which, on a ſlight obſervation, appears to be inexplicable, will yield to theſe principles. The varying ſpirit of the feudal aſſociation accounts for it in a manner the moſt eaſy and the moſt natural. When the ſuperior and the vaſſal were friends, and their connection was warm and generous, the feudal incidents were acts of cordiality and affection. When they were enemies, and their connection was preſerved, not by the commerce of the paſſions and the heart, but merely by the tie of land, governed by avarice and ambition, the feudal incidents were acts of oppreſſion and ſeverity. During the Anglo-Saxon times, the affectionate ſtate of the feudal aſſociation prevailed. During the times of King William, and his immediate ſucceſſors, their hoſtile condition was experienced. Hence the mildneſs and happineſs of our Saxon anceſtors; hence the complaints and grievances of our Norman progenitors.

This ſolution of a difficulty, which has been a fruitful ſource of miſtake, is ſtrongly confirmed by a peculiarity which I am now to mention, and which, in its turn, leads to the explication of a problem that has been alike perplexing to our antiquaries and hiſtorians.

It was from William the Conqueror down to King John, that the people of England complained loudly of the feudal ſeverities; and, during this long period of outrage and lamentation, it was their inceſſant deſire, that the laws of Edward the Confeſſor ſhould be reſtored. It is, therefore, beyond all doubt, that the feudal ſeverities were not heard of during the times of King

King Edward. The ſuperior and the vaſſal were then cordial and happy in each other. The feudal incidents were then expreſſions of generoſity and attachment.

But William, who was forced to acknowledge, by his laws, the freedom of the Engliſh government, enacted, that the poſſeſſors of land ſhould not be harraſſed with unjuſt exactions and tallages. He thus promiſed to abſtain from feudal ſeverities. And, what ſeems conſtantly to have attended this promiſe, he formally reſtored and confirmed the laws of the Confeſſor. In alluſion to the ſame ſeverities, William Rufus engaged to abſtain from illegal *aids* and *oppreſſions*; and, in reference to the ſame cuſtoms of the Confeſſor, he became bound to govern by mild and ſanctified laws. Henry I. executed a charter which contained direct mitigations of the feudal incidents, and he expreſsly reſtored and confirmed the laws of King Edward. Stephen gave a charter of liberties to the barons and people; and it was its purpoſe to beſtow his ſanction on the grant of Henry, and to confirm the good laws and cuſtoms of the Confeſſor. With the ſame intentions, a charter of liberties was framed and granted by Henry II.

Theſe grants, though invaluable as ample and deciſive teſtimonials of our antient liberties by their perpetual and anxious retroſpection to the Saxon times, could not be carried into execution, and maintained in the purity of their intentions. The altered condition of manners, and of the feudal aſſociation, did not wholly permit their exerciſe. Notwithſtanding the high and independent ſpirit of the Engliſh nation, which occaſioned theſe grants, the feudal ſeverities were often continued. They prevailed under William the Conqueror, under Rufus, under Henry I. under Stephen, and under Henry II. They were known under Richard I. And, in the reign of King John, they became ſo exorbitant and ſo wild,

that the barons and the people unanimouſly confederated to vindicate their liberties, and thus produced the *magna charta*, which, while it offered a limitation of the feudal rigours, was declaratory of the conſtitutional freedom that had diſtinguiſhed this fortunate iſland from the earlieſt times.

This conſtant connection of the complaints of the feudal ſeverities, and the revival of the laws and cuſtoms of the Confeſſor, from the age of King William to King John, is a moſt remarkable and important peculiarity. "What theſe laws were, of Edward the Confeſſor," ſays Mr. Hume, "which the Engliſh, every reign, during a century and a half, deſired ſo paſſionately to have reſtored, is much diſputed by antiquarians; and our ignorance of them ſeems one of the greateſt defects in the antient Engliſh hiſtory."

The train of reaſoning already laid down, points, with an indubitable clearneſs, to the explanation of this myſtery. By the laws or cuſtoms of the Confeſſor, that condition of felicity was expreſſed, which had been enjoyed during the Anglo-Saxon times, while the feudal *incidents* were expreſſions of generoſity and friendſhip. Theſe incidents, in the fortunate ſtate of the feudal aſſociation, acting alike to public and private happineſs, produced that equal and affectionate intercourſe, of which the memory was to continue ſo long, and the revival to create ſuch ſtruggles. It was the cordiality, the equality, and the independence of this ſociety and communication, which are figured by the laws or cuſtoms of the Confeſſor, and which made them the fond objects of ſuch laſting admiration, and ſuch ardent wiſhes.

While the feudal aſſociation was cordial, the vaſſals of a chief gave with pleaſure their aſſiſtance. When this aſſociation became diſcordant, different intereſts actuating the ſuperior and the vaſſal, art and policy preſcribed the exact ſervice to be performed. A duchy, barony, or earldom, were the eſtates poſſeſſed

by the nobles; and, being divided into fees, each of theſe was to ſupply its knight. A tenant of the crown, who was not created into nobility, but enjoyed a grant of land, furniſhed alſo his knights in proportion to his fees. The nobles and the gentry of a feudal kingdom were thus its defenders and guardians. And they granted out territory to perſons inferior to them in the diviſions of fees, and under the burden of knights. In proportion, therefore, to the extent of its lands, there was, in every feudal ſtate, an army, or a body of militia, for its ſupport and protection.

But, while a force, numerous and ſufficient, was, in this manner, created, a care was alſo beſtowed to hold it in readineſs to take the field. The knights, who were to appear in proportion to the fees of each eſtate, were bound to aſſemble at a call, in complete armour, and in a ſtate for action. The feudal militia, of conſequence, could be marched with expedition, to defend the rights of its nation, to ſupport its honour, or to ſpread its renown.

The uſual arms of a knight were the ſhield and helmet, the coat of mail, the ſword, and the lance. It was, alſo, his duty to have a horſe. For, a growing luxury, and the paſſion for ſhow, encouraged by tournaments, had brought diſcredit to the infantry.

The horſemen were called the battle, and the ſucceſs of every engagement was ſuppoſed to depend upon them. The infantry were furniſhed by the villages and towns in the demeſnes of the prince or the nobles. The bow, the ſling, and the battle-axe, were the arms of theſe; and with which they made themſelves both formidable and deſtructive to an enemy.

During the warmth of the feudal aſſociation, the military ſervice of the vaſſal was every moment in the command of the ſuperior. When their aſſociation was decayed, the cauſe of which I ſhall hereafter explain, it was not to be depended on, and, when afforded, was without zeal, and without advantage.

The

The invention of knight-ſervice, which was intended to recover, in ſome degree, the vigour of this connection, while it aſcertained the exact duty to be rendered, ſerved to fix its duration. Each poſſeſſor of a fee was, at his own expence, to keep himſelf in the field during forty days. To this obligation, the great vaſſals of the crown were bound, and inferior proprietors were to ſubmit to it. When a ſingle battle was commonly to decide the fates and diſputes of nations, this portion of time was conſiderable and important. And, if any expediency demanded a longer duty, the prince might retain his troops under the condition of giving them pay for their extraordinary ſervice. When, however, the prince was bent on making war, in oppoſition to the ſenſe and will of his people, as was the caſe between John and his barons, he was obliged to raiſe an army of *ſtipendiaries* entirely at his own expence. Theſe forces were a mixture of all nations, and conſiſted of men whom poverty and debauchery had corrupted into wretchedneſs. They had no ſolicitude what cauſe they were to defend; and their convenient ſwords obeyed, at all times, the donatives of princes. They were called *coterelli*, from the hangers they wore; *ruptarii*, from the pay they received; and many of them being of the country of Brabant, the term *Brabançons*, or *Brabantini*, came to expreſs them.

This was the military ſyſtem which, during a long period of time, upheld the power of the monarchs of Britain; a ſyſtem, of which it was the admirable conſequence, that thoſe who were the proprietors of the land, were to defend it. They were moſt intereſted in its welfare and tranquillity; and, while they were naturally diſpoſed to act with union and firmneſs, againſt a foreign enemy, they were induced not leſs ſtrongly to guard againſt domeſtic tyranny. Their intereſt and happineſs, their pleaſure and convenience, urged them equally to oppoſe invaſions from abroad,

inteſtine commotions, and the ſtretches of prerogative. A ſtrength ſo natural, and which could never be exhauſted; a ſtrength, in which the prince was to have leſs authority than the nobles, and in which the power of both was checked by the numerous claſs of inferior proprietors; a ſtrength, which had directly in view the preſervation of civil liberty, ſeems on a ſlight obſervation, the perfection of military diſcipline, and the true model of an army of free citizens. The departure from this ſyſtem, to that of a ſtanding army, ſhall be noticed in its proper place.

Of the Wars of England under the Plantagenets, from this Period, to the Commencement of the Reign of Edward III.

SUCH was the ſpirit and temper of the times, which bore down the tyranny and oppreſſion of John, and preſcribed the old limits to the ambition of his ſucceſſors. He left two legitimate ſons; Henry, who ſucceeded him on the throne, who was about nine years of age; and Richard, who was about ſeven. He alſo left three daughters; Jane, married to Alexander, king of Scotland; Eleanor, married to the earl of Pembroke; and Iſabella, married to the emperor Frederic II.

When John died, the earl of Pembroke was mareſchal of England. By this office he was at the head of the army, and of conſequence, in times of ſuch turbulence, at the head of the ſtate. He was a nobleman of great honour and fidelity, and had continued faithful to John in his greateſt reverſes of fortune. He now determined to ſupport the authority of the infant prince Henry; and therefore carried him immediately to Glouceſter, where the ceremony of coronation was performed, in the preſence of Goalo, the legate, and a very few noblemen, by the biſhops of Wincheſter and Bath. The young prince was obliged to ſwear fealty to the pope, and renew the homage which his father had

had done for the kingdom; after which the earl of Pembroke was choſen protector.

Till the king arrived at the years of maturity, the tranſactions of his reign can only be conſidered as the conſequences of the diſpoſition of his tutors. Pembroke cauſed him to grant a new charter of liberties, conſiſting of the conceſſions extorted from John, with ſome alterations; and the next year it was renewed, with the addition of ſome other articles. Thus theſe famous charters were brought very nearly to the ſhape in which they have ever ſince ſtood; and they were, during all generations, eſteemed the moſt ſacred rampart to national liberty and independence. As they ſecured the rights of all orders of men, they were anxiouſly defended by all, and became in a manner the baſis of the Engliſh monarchy, and a kind of original contract, which both limited the authority of the king, and enſured the conditional allegiance of his ſubjects. Though often violated, they were ſtill claimed and recalled by the nobility and people; and as no precedents were ſuppoſed valid that infringed them, they rather acquired, than loſt authority, from the frequent attempts made againſt them, in ſeveral ages, by regal and arbitrary power.

Theſe charters were made uſe of by Pembroke as arguments to draw off the malecontent barons from their allegiance to prince Louis of France. He repreſented to them, that, whatever jealouſy they might have entertained againſt the late king, a young prince, the lineal heir of their ancient monarchs, had now ſucceeded to the throne, without ſucceeding either to the reſentments or principles of his predeceſſor: that the deſperate expedient which they had employed, of calling in a foreign potentate, had, happily for them, as well as for the nation, failed of entire ſucceſs; and it was ſtill in their power, by a quick return to their duty, to reſtore the independence of the kingdom, and to ſecure that liberty for which they ſo zealouſly contended:

tended: that, as all paſt offences of the barons were now buried in oblivion, they ought on their part, to forget their complaints againſt their late ſovereign; who, if he had been blameable in his conduct, had left to his ſon the ſalutary warning to avoid his paths, which had led to ſuch fatal extremities: and that, having now obtained a charter for their liberties, it was their intereſt to ſhow, by their conduct, that that acquiſition was not incompatible with their allegiance; and that the rights of the king and people, ſo far from being hoſtile and oppoſite, might mutually ſupport and ſuſtain each other.

Theſe conſiderations, enforced by Pembroke's known character of conſtancy and fidelity, had a very great influence on the barons. Moſt of them began to negociate with him, and many actually returned to their duty. At the ſame time Louis continued to diſguſt thoſe of his own party by the preference which he viſibly gave to the French. Though he went over to France, and brought freſh ſuccours from thence, he found that his party was greatly weaker than before, by the deſertion of his Engliſh confederates; and that the death of king John had, contrary to his expectations, occaſioned the total ruin of his affairs. In a ſhort time Pembroke was ſo much ſtrengthened by deſerters from Louis's party, that he ventured to inveſt Mount-Sorel; though upon the approach of the count de Perche with the French army, he deſiſted from that enterpriſe. The French general immediately marched to Lincoln; and, being admitted into the town, laid ſiege to the caſtle, and ſoon reduced it to extremity. Pembroke ſummoned his forces from every quarter, in order to relieve this important place; and he appeared ſo much ſuperior to the French, that they ſhut themſelves up within the city, reſolving to take ſhelter there. But the garriſon of the caſtle, having received a ſtrong reinforcement, made a vigorous ſally upon the beſiegers, while the Engliſh army aſ-

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ſaulted them from without. The French army was totally routed; the count de Perche was killed; and many of the chief commanders, with about 400 knights, were made priſoners. On the news of this fatal event, Louis raiſed the ſiege of Dover, and retired to London; where he received intelligence of a new diſaſter, which put an end to all his hopes. A French fleet, which carried a ſtrong reinforcement, had appeared on the coaſt of Kent; where they were attacked and repulſed with conſiderable loſs, by Philip D'Albiney. He is ſaid to have gained the victory by the following ſtratagem. Having got the wind of the French, they ſtrewed large quantities of lime upon their decks, and the wind, blowing freſh, carried it full in the face of their enemies, who thus were ſo blinded that they were diſabled from defending themſelves. This diſaſter ſo diſcouraged thoſe who yet adhered to Louis, that they came from every quarter to make their ſubmiſſion to Pembroke; and Louis himſelf, finding his affairs totally deſperate, was glad to make his eſcape from a country, where every thing was become hoſtile to him. He therefore concluded a peace with the protector; promiſed to evacuate the kingdom; and only ſtipulated, in return, an indemnity to his adherents, and a reſtitution of their honours and fortunes, together with the free and equal enjoyment of thoſe liberties which had been granted to the reſt of the nation.

When the king grew up, he was found to be very unfit for the government of ſuch a warlike people as the Engliſh were. Though his temper was mild and humane, he was weak, fickle, and irreſolute. He diſguſted the people by the careſſes he beſtowed on foreigners: and this diſguſt once roſe to ſuch a height, that the barons refuſed to aſſemble in the general council of the nation, at his deſire. When commanded to do ſo, they ſent a meſſenger to Henry, deſiring him to diſmiſs his foreigners; otherwiſe they would drive

both him and them out of the kingdom, and put the crown on the head of one who was more worthy to wear it. The facility of Henry's temper alſo induced him to heap riches upon his foreign favourites in a manner which he could by no means afford: this often brought him into very great ſtraits; and to relieve himſelf, he was obliged to have recourſe to many arbitrary meaſures, which he could not otherwiſe have choſen. Nothing, however, of very great moment happened till the year 1255, when the pope found means to embark Henry in a ſcheme for the conqueſt of Naples or Sicily on this ſide the Fare, as it was called; an enterpriſe which not only brought much diſhonour on the king, but involved him for ſome years in very great expence and trouble. The court of Rome ſome time before had reduced the kingdom of Sicily to the ſame ſtate of vaſſalage which ſhe pretended to exerciſe over England; but Mainfroy, an uſurper, under pretence of governing the kingdom for the lawful heir, had ſeized the crown, and was reſolved to reject the pope's authority. As the pope found that his own force alone was not ſufficient to gain his point, he had recourſe to Richard the king of England's brother, who had been created earl of Cornwall, and had ſuch talents for amaſſing money, that he was reckoned the richeſt prince in Chriſtendom. To him the pope offered the kingdom of Sicily, upon the ſingle condition of his conquering it from the uſurper. Richard was too wiſe to accept this offer; upon which the pope applied to Henry, and offered him the crown of Sicily for his ſecond ſon Edmund. Henry, dazzled by this propoſal, without reflecting on the conſequences, or without conſulting his brother or the parliament, gave the pope unlimited credit to expend whatever ſums he thought neceſſary for completing the conqueſt of Sicily. In conſequence of this unlimited grant, his holineſs determined to exert his apoſtolical authority to the utmoſt, in extorting money

money from the Engliſh. A cruſade was publiſhed, requiring every one who had taken the croſs againſt the infidels, or even vowed to advance money for that purpoſe, to ſupport the war againſt Mainfroy, whom he accuſed as being a more terrible enemy to the Chriſtian faith than any Saracen. A tenth on all the eccleſiaſtical benefices in England was levied for three years; and orders were given to excommunicate the biſhops who did not make punctual payment. A grant was made to the king of the goods of inteſtate clergymen, as well as of the revenues of vacant benefices and thoſe of non-reſidents. Theſe taxations, however grievous, were ſubmitted to with little murmuring; but another ſuggeſted by the biſhop of Hereford excited the moſt violent clamours. This prelate, who at that time reſided at the court of Rome, drew bills on all the abbots and biſhops of the kingdom, to the amount of no leſs than 150,540 marks, which he granted to Italian merchants in conſideration of the money they had advanced, or pretended to advance, for the ſupport of the Sicilian war. As it was apprehended that the Engliſh clergy would not eaſily ſubmit to ſuch an extraordinary demand, a commiſſion was given to Ruſtand, the pope's legate, to uſe his authority. An aſſembly of the prelates and abbots was accordingly ſummoned; who, on hearing the propoſal ſanctified with the names both of the pope and king, were ſtruck with the utmoſt ſurpriſe and indignation. A violent altercation took place; during which the legate told them, that all eccleſiaſtical benefices were the property of the pope, and that he might diſpoſe of them as he pleaſed. The affair ended, however, in the ſubmiſſion of the clergy: but the barons ſtill continued refractory, and for ſome time anſwered the king's demands of ſupplies with expoſtulations; urging the king's partiality to foreigners, and the various injuries the nation had ſuſtained from the ſervants of the crown. The great council of the nation, which

had lately obtained the name of *parliament*, was therefore diſſolved, and another called, but with as little ſucceſs as before.

The king had involved himſelf in ſo much debt, that a large ſupply was become abſolutely neceſſary; and, as that could by no means be obtained from parliament, he was now reduced to the humiliating expedient of going about among ſuch of his ſubjects as he thought moſt attached to him, and begging aſſiſtance from them at their own houſes. At length his barons, perceiving the exigencies to which he was reduced, ſeemed willing to afford him aid; and, upon his promiſing to grant them a plenary redreſs of grievances, a very liberal ſupply was obtained, for which he renewed their charter with more than uſual ſolemnity. All the prelates and abbots were aſſembled with burning tapers in their hands; the magna charta was read in their preſence; and they denounced ſentence of excommunication upon all who ſhould infringe upon its deciſions. They then put out their tapers on the ground, and exclaimed, "May every ſoul that proves falſe to this agreement ſo ſtink and corrupt in hell!" The king ſubjoined. "So help me God, I will inviolably keep all theſe things, as I am a man, as I am a Chriſtian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed."

No ſooner had the king received the ſupplies of which he ſtood ſo much in need, than he forgot all his engagements, put his confidence entirely in foreign counſellors, and evaded or broke through in numberleſs inſtances the charters he had given. This conduct rendered him ſo obnoxious to the barons, that Simon Mountfort earl of Leiceſter, a man of very violent and ambitious temper, determined to attempt an innovation in the government. He formed a powerful confederacy againſt the king, and the deſigns of the conſpirators were effectually put in execution in the year 1258. Henry had ſummoned a parliament in expectation of receiving ſupplies for his Sicilian project;

ject; when the barons appeared in the hall, clad in complete armour, with their ſwords by their ſides. The king, ſtruck with this unuſual appearance, aſked them what was their purpoſe, and whether they intended to make him their priſoner? Roger Bigod, earl mareſchal, anſwered in the name of the reſt, that he was not their priſoner; that they even intended to grant him large ſupplies, in order to fix his ſon on the throne of Sicily; that they only expected ſome return for this expence and ſervice; and that as the king had frequently made ſubmiſſions to the parliament, had acknowledged his paſt errors, and had ſtill allowed himſelf to be carried into the ſame path, which gave them ſuch reaſon of complaint, he muſt now yield to more ſtrict regulation, and confer authority on thoſe who were able and willing to redreſs the public grievances. Henry inſtantly aſſured them of his intentions to grant them all poſſible ſatisfaction; and for that purpoſe ſummoned another parliament at Oxford, to digeſt the new plan of government, and to elect proper perſons who were to be entruſted with the chief authority. This aſſembly, afterwards called the *mad parliament*, went very expeditiouſly to work on the buſineſs of reformation. Twenty-four barons were appointed, with ſupreme authority, to reform the abuſes of the ſtate; and Leiceſter was placed at their head. Their firſt ſtep was to order four knights to be choſen out of each county, who ſhould examine into the ſtate of their reſpective conſtituents, and ſhould attend at the enſuing parliament to give information of their complaints. They ordained that three ſeſſions of parliament ſhould be regularly held every year; that a new high ſheriff ſhould be elected annually; that no wards nor caſtles ſhould be entruſted to foreigners, no new foreſt made, nor the revenues of any counties let to farm.

Theſe conſtitutions were ſo juſt, that ſome of them remain to this day. But the parliament, having once

obtained the ſovereign power, took care not to part with it again. They not only protracted the time of their ſitting under various pretences; but at laſt had the effrontery to impoſe an oath upon every individual of the nation, declaring an implicit obedience to all the ſtatutes executed or to be yet executed by the barons who were thus appointed as rulers. They not only abridged the authority of the king, but the efficacy of parliament alſo; giving up to twelve perſons the whole parliamentary power between each ſeſſion.---Their uſurpations were firſt oppoſed by the knights of the ſhire, whom they themſelves had appointed. Theſe had for ſome time begun to be regularly aſſembled in a ſeparate houſe, to conſider of the national grievances; the firſt of which was the conduct of the twenty-four rulers. They repreſented, that, though the king had performed all that was required of him, the barons had hitherto done nothing on their part that ſhewed an equal regard for the people; that their own intereſt and power ſeemed the only aim of all their decrees; and they even called upon the king's eldeſt ſon, prince Edward, to interpoſe his authority, and ſave the ſinking nation.

The prince was at this time about 22 years of age, and by his activity and reſolute conduct had inſpired the nation with great hopes. He told thoſe who made the application to him, that he had ſworn to the late conſtitutions; and, on that account, though they were contrary to his own private opinions, he was reſolved not to infringe them. At the ſame time, however, he ſent a meſſage to the barons, requiring them to bring their undertaking to an end, or otherwiſe to expect the moſt vigorous reſiſtance to their uſurpations. On this the barons were obliged to publiſh a new code of laws, which, though it contained ſcarcely any thing material, yet, it was ſuppoſed, would for a while dazzle the eyes of the people, until they could take meaſures to eſtabliſh their authority upon ſurer foundations.

dations. In this manner, under various pretences, they continued their power for three years; while the whole nation loudly condemned their treachery, and the pope himself at last absolved the king and his subjects from the oath they had taken to obey their injunctions. Soon after this, a parliament was called, and the king reinstated in his former authority. The barons were obliged to submit for a time; but the earl of Leicester having joined the Welsh, who at this time made an irruption into England, the kingdom was reduced to the most deplorable situation. The pusillanimity of the king prevented any proper or judicious method from being pursued for extricating the people from their distresses; and at last a treaty was concluded with the barons on the most disadvantageous terms that can be imagined. They were restored to the sovereignty of the kingdom, took possession of all the royal castles and fortresses, and even named the officers of the king's household. They summoned a parliament to meet at Oxford, in order more fully to settle the plan of government; and by this assembly it was enacted, that the authority of the twenty-four barons should continue not only during the life of king Henry, but also during that of prince Edward.

These scandalous conditions would have been easily complied with by king Henry; but they were utterly rejected by prince Edward, so that a civil war immediately ensued, and both parties prepared for battle.

Prince Edward, the king's son, and prince Henry, son of Richard, king of the Romans, and brother to Henry, commanded the right wing of the king's army. The left was commanded by the king of the Romans; and the main body by king Henry himself. The enemy's army likewise consisted of three divisions, with a corps de reserve. The earls of Leicester and Gloucester commanded those divisions which were opposed to king Henry and the king of the Romans; the London troops were drawn up on the left, opposite

oppoſite to prince Edward, commanded by Nicholas Seagrave. Prince Edward began the battle by attacking the London forces, whom he defeated, and ſo entirely routed, that he drove them ſome miles from the place of engagement. But the other part of the royal army was not ſo ſucceſsful, for king Henry and the king of the Romans were very ſtoutly oppoſed by the two earls, and being charged in flank by the corps de reſerve were entirely defeated and both taken priſoners. Nor could the utmoſt efforts of the two young princes, who were come back from the purſuit of the Londoners, reſtore the battle. So far from it, that they were, themſelves, ſurrounded by Leiceſter and Gloceſter, and obliged to agree, that the proviſions which had been made at Oxford ſhould be obſerved, and for the performance of which they were obliged to ſurrender themſelves as hoſtages.

Leiceſter by this victory obtained the command of the whole country, the king's friends being in no condition to oppoſe him. And, as he had the king in his power, he obliged him to comply with ſuch terms as he was pleaſed to preſcribe. He accordingly made Henry ſign orders to the reſpective governors in different parts of the kingdom to obey ſuch commands as they ſhould receive from Leiceſter. He alſo forced him to make ſuch other regulations as he thought fit, and in the mean time governed uncontrouled. He ſeized the eſtates of no fewer than eighteen barons; engroſſed to himſelf the ranſom of all the priſoners; monopolized the ſale of wool to foreign markets; and at laſt ordained that all power ſhould be exerciſed by nine perſons, who were to be choſen by three others, or the majority of them; and theſe three were the earl of Leiceſter himſelf, the earl of Gloceſter, and the biſhop of Chicheſter.

The miſerable ſituation to which the kingdom was now reduced proved at laſt the means of ſettling the government on a more proper foundation. Leiceſter,

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in order to ſecure himſelf, was obliged to have recourſe to an aid, till now, entirely unknown in England, namely, that of the body of the people. He called a parliament, where, beſides the barons of his own party, and ſeveral eccleſiaſtics who were not proper tenants of the crown, he ordered returns to be made of two knights from every ſhire; and alſo deputies from the boroughs, which had been hitherto conſidered as too inconſiderable to be allowed any ſhare in the legiſlation. This parliament was called on the 20th of January 1265: and here we find the firſt outline of an Engliſh houſe of commons; an inſtitution which has ever ſince been conſidered as the bulwark of Britiſh liberty.

The new parliament was far from being ſo compliant to Leiceſter as he had deſired or expected. Many of the barons, who had hitherto ſtedfaſtly adhered to his party, were diſguſted with his boundleſs ambition; and the people, who found that a change of maſters was not a change from miſery to happineſs, began to wiſh for the re-eſtabliſhment of royal authority. Leiceſter, at laſt, to make a merit of what he could not prevent, releaſed prince Edward from his confinement, and had him introduced at Weſtminſter-hall, where his freedom was confirmed by the unanimous voice of the barons. But though Leiceſter had all the popularity of reſtoring the prince, he was yet politic enough to keep him guarded by his emiſſaries, who watched all his actions. At laſt, however, he found means to make his eſcape in the following manner. The duke of Gloceſter, being diſguſted with Leiceſter, retired from court, and went to his eſtates on the borders of Wales. His antagoniſt purſued him thither; and, to give the greater authority to his arms, carried the king and prince of Wales along with him. This furniſhed young Edward with the opportunity he had ſo long deſired. Being furniſhed by the earl of Gloceſter with an horſe of extraordinary ſwiftneſs,

neſs, he took leave of his attendants, who were in fact his guards, but were not able to come up with him. They purſued him, however, for ſome time; but the appearance of a body of troops belonging to Gloceſter ſoon put an end to their purſuit.

The prince no ſooner recovered his liberty, than the royaliſts joined him from all quarters, and an army was ſoon procured which Leiceſter could not withſtand. This nobleman now found himſelf in a remote part of the kingdom; ſurrounded by his enemies; and debarred from all communication with his friends by the river Severn, whoſe bridges Edward had broken down. In this extremity, he wrote to his ſon to haſten to his aſſiſtance from London, with a conſiderable army which he had under his command. With this view his ſon advanced to Kenilworth; but here he was ſurpriſed, and his army entirely routed by prince Edward. The young prince, immediately after his victory, advanced againſt Leiceſter himſelf; who, ignorant of the fate of his ſon's army, had paſſed the Severn in boats. He was by no means able to cope with the royaliſts; his men being inferior both in numbers and reſolution to their antagoniſts. His army were defeated with great ſlaughter in the vale of Eveſham. Leiceſter himſelf was ſlain, though he called out for quarter, together with his eldeſt ſon Henry, and about 160 knights and other gentlemen. The old king had been purpoſely placed, by the rebels, in the front of the battle, where he was wounded, and in great danger of being killed; but crying out, "I am Henry of Wincheſter, your king," he was ſaved and put in a place of ſecurity by his ſon, who had flown to his aſſiſtance. The body of Leiceſter being found among the dead, was barbarouſly mangled by Roger Mortimer; and then ſent to his widow, as a teſtimony of the royal party's barbarity and ſucceſs.

The battle of Eveſham proved deciſive in favour of the royal party. Almoſt all the caſtles garriſoned

by Leiceſter, haſtened to make their ſubmiſſions, and opened their gates to the king. The Iſle of Axholme alone, and that of Ely, truſting to the ſtrength of their ſituation, ventured to make reſiſtance; but were at laſt reduced, as well as the caſtle of Dover, by the valour and activity of prince Edward. Adam de Gourdon, a courageous baron, maintained himſelf ſome time in the foreſts of Hampſhire, committing depredations in the neighbourhood; and obliged the prince to lead a body of troops into that country againſt him. Edward attacked the camp of the rebels; and being tranſported by the ardour of action, leaped over the trench with a few followers, and encountered Gourdon himſelf in ſingle combat. The victory was long diſputed between theſe two valiant combatants; but ended at laſt in the prince's favour, who wounded his antagoniſt, threw him from his horſe, and took him priſoner. He not only granted him his life; but introduced him that very night to the queen at Guildford, procured his pardon, and was ever after faithfully ſerved by him.

In 1271, prince Edward, having ſettled the affairs of the kingdom, undertook an expedition to the Holy Land, where he ſignalized himſelf by many acts of valour. Acon, at his arrival, was beſieged by the infidels; he attacked and drove them away with great ſlaughter, and relieved the town. Not content with this, he purſued them from place to place, with his little army, and ſo greatly harraſſed them, that they formed a plan to take away Edward's life by treachery. For this purpoſe they propoſed a treaty, when a villain, who was admitted into his quarters under the pretence of negotiation, drew a poiſoned dagger to ſtab him; the prince, aware of his intention, parried the thruſt with his arm. But the villain, attempting to repeat his thruſt, Edward knocked him down, and killed him with his own weapon. The prince, however, was wounded in the arm, and the cure of it

very doubtful, on account of the poiſon; and he owed his life to his wife, who ſucked the poiſon from the wound. The prince had now remained here near two years, when, finding the Chriſtian powers ſent no reinforcements, and that his own army was greatly reduced by ſickneſs and the ſword, he concluded a peace with the Saracens, for ten years, ten months, and ten days. In the mean time king Henry's health declined viſibly, and at laſt, worn out with cares and the infirmities of age, he expired at St. Edmondſbury on the 16th of November, 1272, in the 64th year of his age, and the 56th of his reign.

Prince Edward had reached Sicily in his return from the Holy Land, when he received an account of his father's death: at which he expreſſed much concern. As he knew that England was at that time in a ſtate of perfect tranquillity, he was in no haſte to return, but ſpent near a year in France before he made his appearance in England. He was received by his ſubjects with the utmoſt joy, and crowned at Weſtminſter by Robert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, on the 19th of Auguſt 1274. He immediately applied himſelf to the correcting of thoſe diſorders which the civil commotions, and weak adminiſtration of his father, had introduced. A ſyſtem of ſtrict juſtice, bordering on ſeverity, was introduced and kept up through the whole of this reign. The Jews were the only part of his ſubjects whom Edward oppreſſed. Many arbitrary taxes were levied upon them; two hundred and eighty of them were hanged at once for adulterating the coin; the goods of the reſt were confiſcated, and all of them baniſhed the kingdom.

Lewellin, at this time king of the Welch, refuſed to attend the coronation of Edward; upon which he ſummoned him four times to do homage; but he as often refuſed, unleſs the king's eldeſt ſon, or the earl of Glouceſter, were given as hoſtages for his ſecurity. In the mean time the Engliſh took a ſhip,

bound from France to North Wales, which was conveying a daughter of the late earl of Leiceſter, going to be married to Lewellin, accompanied by her brother Aymeric; theſe the king detained at his court till he ſhould ſee the event of the Welſh war. Upon this Lewellin made incurſions into the Engliſh territories, and laid the country waſte. This provoked the king to invade the principality of Wales. Accordingly Edward appointed a rendezvous at Worceſter. And taking the queen and court with him, marched with a numerous army into the country, having cauſed broad ways to be cut through the woods, that his armies might march with the greater eaſe and expedition, and preſerve a communication with each other. He laid waſte all the open country, and by his ſhipping attacked their ſea-ports, and got poſſeſſion of the iſle of Angleſea. In the mean time the Welſh retreated to the inacceſſible mountains of Snowden, in hopes of making incurſions from thence, and harraſſing the king's troops and cutting off his proviſions, as they had formerly done by his predeceſſors. But the king had taken ſuch precautions, that his army was well ſupplied by ſea and land, whilſt the Welſh ſuffered greatly in their retreat. Lewellin, therefore, ſued for peace, which he obtained on very hard conditions; but theſe the king afterwards generouſly relaxed.

A few years afterwards Lewellin revolted at the inſtigation of his brother David, encouraged by a prophecy of Merlin, that he was to be ſovereign of all Britain. The king ſent forces againſt him: but they being ſurpriſed and defeated, he next year marched himſelf, at the head of an army, into the middle of Wales, and obliged the enemy again to retreat into the mountains of Snowden; and having deprived them of all relief by ſea and land, once more took poſſeſſion of the iſle of Angleſea, and built a bridge over the ſtrait that ſeparates that iſland from the main, near Bangor. A detachment of the king's forces having marched over

this bridge, to ſurvey the country about Snowden, a great number of the Welſh made a ſudden incurſion from the hills, and forced the Engliſh to a haſty retreat. The Engliſh in their flight ſo thronged the bridge, that it broke down, and a great number of them periſhed. This ſucceſs ſo encouraged the Welſh, that, quitting the hills, they advanced into the plains, and ſet the Engliſh army at defiance. They now flattered themſelves that the time was come, when, according to Merlin's prophecy, the ancient Britons were once more to have the dominion of the whole iſland. Lewellin was ſo infatuated with the ſame notion, that he ventured a general battle with king Edward, when, very unhappily for him, his army was entirely routed, himſelf killed, and his country loſt. His head was cut off, crowned with ivy, and by the king's orders ſet on the tower of London. This victory gave the king entire poſſeſſion of the country, which he put into ſuch a poſture as to prevent all future diſturbances; and his queen being then with child, he ſent for her to Caernarvon, where ſhe was ſoon after delivered of a prince, whom the king named Edward, and created prince of Wales, thereby uniting it to the kingdom of England as a principality; which has ever ſince deſcended to the eldeſt ſon of the crown.

In 1286, the ſettlement of Wales appeared ſo complete, that the king went abroad in order to make peace between Alfonſo king of Arragon and Philip le Bel king of France, who had a difference about the kingdom of Sicily. He ſucceeded in his negociations; but, ſtaying abroad three years, he found that many diſorders had been introduced in his abſence. Many inſtances of robbery and violence had broke out in all parts of England; but the corruption of the judges, by which the fountains of juſtice were poiſoned, was ſtill of more dangerous conſequence. Edward, in order to remedy this prevailing abuſe, ſummoned a parliament, and brought the judges to a trial; where all

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of them except two, who were clergymen, were convicted of this flagrant iniquity, were fined, and deposed from their office. The amount of the fines levied upon them is of itself a sufficient proof of their guilt, being above 100,000 marks; an immense sum in those days, sufficient to defray the expences of a war betwixt two great nations. The king afterwards made all the new judges swear that they would take no bribes; but the degrading and fining the old ones was the more effectual remedy.

In 1291, king Edward began to meditate the conquest of Scotland, which employed him during the rest of his life. Baliol, king of that country, had renounced the sovereignty of the king of England, and bid defiance to him; and got the pope to absolve himself and his nobility from the oaths they had taken to Edward. The latter therefore marched at the head of an army to Newcastle, where he received intelligence, that the Scots had attacked some English troops that lay upon the borders of the kingdom, and killed a thousand of them. They had besides destroyed part of his fleet, sent out to attend the army in this expedition. Edward marched with a powerful army to Berwick, to which he laid siege, and at last took by this stratagem: he had continued for some days before the town, when on a sudden he raised the siege, and marched away; at the same time he ordered some of his men to desert to the town, whom he instructed to tell the town's people, that the approach of king Baliol, with a powerful army, was the occasion of his retreat, and that this relief was very near, almost in sight. The inhabitants, paying credit to this, marched out with several of the garrison to meet their friends, when on a sudden the English army, which had not quitted the neighbourhood, attacked them so close, that as they fled into the town they entered with them, and, having killed a great many of the garrison, got possession of the place.

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The king from hence marched to Dunbar, to beſiege it, when Baliol came up to the relief of it; upon which a battle enſued, but the Scots being defeated, with the loſs of above twenty thouſand men, the town was obliged to receive the conqueror. Roxborough was next taken, as was alſo the caſtle of Edinburgh, after a ſiege of ſeven days. Sterling and Perth fell next, and ſo many other important places, that before the cloſe of the campaign, in 1296, Baliol himſelf, and his whole kingdom, were obliged to ſubmit to the conqueror.

Baliol, with a white wand in his hand, formally ſurrendered the kingdom of Scotland to king Edward, to be diſpoſed of as he ſhould think fit, the people at the ſame time engaging to become his faithful ſubjects. This reſignation being drawn up in writing, was ſigned by king Baliol, and moſt of the Scotch barons, and ſealed with the great ſeal of that kingdom; and the ſtates of Scotland, in an aſſembly called by king Edward at Berwick, confirmed the ſurrender that had been made, and, together with all the officers and magiſtrates, ſwore allegiance to Edward. Baliol was ſent up to London, but had the liberty of ten miles round the city allowed him, to hunt and take his pleaſure. He was afterwards removed to Oxford. Several other Scottiſh lords were carried to England, particularly the earl of Douglas, who had refuſed to ſign the reſignation. The famous chair and ſtone, on which their kings were crowned, were removed to Weſtminſter, as alſo the crown and ſceptre of Scotland, with the reſt of the regalia. The Scots had a tradition, that whilſt the chair and ſtone remained amongſt them, they ſhould not be conquered; but on the removal of them, there would happen ſome great revolution. Edward, further to demonſtrate his conqueſt, cauſed the records of the kingdom to be burnt, and abrogated their ancient laws. Having placed Engliſh garriſons and governors in all the caſtles; and appointed

appointed John, earl of Surry and Suſſex, viceroy or lieutenant of Scotland; king Edward returned to England in triumph.

This war with Scotland was no ſooner over, than king Edward found himſelf compelled into a war with France, on the following occaſion. An Engliſh and a Norman ſailor falling out, in a ſea-port town of Guienne, the latter was killed. Upon which the Normans ſeized an Engliſh ſhip upon their coaſt, and hanged up the maſter at the yard-arm. The quarrel preſently became a national one; each party, thinking itſelf aggrieved, had recourſe to the ſword. One nation ſeized, without ſcruple, on the veſſels of the other, and cruelly put to death, without diſtinction, all whom they found on board. This piratical war was carried on for a long time. At length the ſea-ports of each kingdom agreed to decide the diſpute by a pitched battle, on the ſea, mid-way between Normandy and the coaſt of Kent. A furious engagement followed, in which the Engliſh fought their enemies amidſt an appalling fury of elements; ſnow, hail, and a furious tempeſt beating down on the combatants. At length, however, they obtained a ſignal victory; the ſlaughter of the French was very great, many of their ſhips were ſunk, and two hundred and forty ſail are ſaid to have been taken, and brought into the Engliſh ports. The king of France, enraged at this proceeding, ſummoned Edward to appear, and anſwer for what had happened, on a day aſſigned. On the king not complying with this mandate, judgment was given that he ſhould loſe his dukedom of Aquitaine, as well as the other provinces which he held as feudatories of the kingdom of France. The perfidy of Philip the French monarch, in the further management of this diſpute, deſerves to be recorded. By the interpoſition of the queen-dowager of France, and the queen-conſort, a treaty was ſet on foot with Edmund earl of Lancaſter, brother to the king of England, for the accommodating

ing the differences between the two ſovereigns. By this treaty it was agreed, that to ſave the honour of king Philip, a few French troops ſhould be admitted into certain forts and cities; and that, after this mark of ſubmiſſion, they ſhould be withdrawn; and letters of ſafe conduct being granted to king Edward, he ſhould paſs the ſeas, and ſettle every difference in a perſonal conference with the king of France, who would withdraw his troops, and vacate the ſentence, in forty days after the ſubmiſſion. Edward accordingly complied with the conditions; but when Philip was required to fulfil his part of the contract, by cauſing his troops to evacuate the towns, he pretended an utter ignorance of any ſuch condition having been made, and inſiſted on keeping what he held.

To chaſtiſe this notorious breach of faith in Philip, king Edward fitted out three fleets, well provided with men and ammunition: one from Yarmouth, which was commanded by John de Boutecourt; another from Portſmouth, under the direction of William de Leibourne; the third, which had the care of the weſtern coaſt, was provided in the ports of Ireland. Each of theſe fleets was very active in annoying the enemy; until a peace was concluded between the two monarchs.

In the mean while, one Wallace, a Scot of mean extraction and little fortune, ſtirred up an inſurrection in Scotland; Edward therefore, having ſummoned all the barons and the vaſſals of the crown to meet him with their troops at Carliſle, on Whitſun-eve, marched from thence into the heart of Scotland, and coming up with the enemy near Falkirk, determined to engage them.

While the king was drawing up his troops, a ſhout being heard in the enemy's camp, the Engliſh immediately flew to their arms, apprehenſive of a ſudden attack. As the king was haſtily putting his foot into the ſtirrup, his horſe, frighted at the noiſe, threw him,

him, and bruiſed two of his ribs. However, he proceeded to draw up his army, and falling upon the enemy, who were ſuperior to him in number though not in diſcipline, he entirely defeated them. Sixty thouſand were killed on the field of battle. The Scots were ſo confounded at this defeat, that they abandoned their towns, and fled for ſecurity to the woods and mountains. Edward immediately took care to improve his victory by putting Engliſh garriſons into the fortified places, and, having taken other precautions, returned home. But the Scots, taking advantage of the king's abſence, revolted once more, under a new leader, John Cummin, a nobleman of royal extraction. Edward was therefore obliged to return again into Scotland with a very large army, when he entirely routed and diſperſed the rebels; ſuch as eſcaped fled into the mountains and moraſſes to ſecure themſelves.

By the mediation of the French king, a truce was now renewed from time to time between Edward and the Scots, which being expired, John de Seagrave was ſent with a body of troops to harraſs the Scots, and oblige them to acknowledge Edward as their king. His army was divided into three bodies, one of which the Scots ſurpriſed, and took him priſoner; but another part of his army ſoon reſcued him.

The next year Edward marched with a very numerous army into Scotland, when, the natives not having ſufficient force to oppoſe him, he penetrated as far as to Caithneſs, the remoteſt northern promontory of the kingdom. The Scots were ſo greatly diſtreſſed, that they were obliged to ſubmit to the mercy of the king, who treated them with great clemency. But, as Sterling ſtill held out, he ordered it to be inveſted, and it remained blocked up all the winter. The next year he returned to the ſiege of it, and in July the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The Scots, who had retired to the bogs and mountains, had

made incurſions, and cut off a great many of the Engliſh, and put ſeveral of them to cruel deaths; but at laſt, Wallace their commander being betrayed to Edward, he tried him as a traitor, and had him hanged and quartered, and thus peace was once more reſtored.

However the Scots, notwithſtanding they had been ſo often ſubdued, and even ſworn allegiance to Edward, rebelled again under the command of Robert Bruce, whom they accepted for their king and crowned at Scone. Edward therefore ſent Aymer de Valence earl of Pembroke with a large body of troops to ſuppreſs this inſurrection, and he was ſo fortunate as to defeat Bruce twice, and forced him to fly to the weſtern iſlands. The king then advanced with a very powerful army, upon whoſe approach the Scots retreated to their mountains. The Engliſh dividing into ſeveral parties, and ſpreading themſelves over the country, took a great many priſoners, and among others the three brothers of Bruce, who were afterward beheaded. The king continued in Scotland, determined to finiſh the conqueſt of the kingdom. In the winter, Robert Bruce ventured out of his retreat, and ſurpriſed and defeated a body of troops under the command of the earl of Pembroke. This ſucceſs led him to attempt the ſame on thoſe belonging to the earl of Gloceſter, but they made good their retreat into the caſtle of Aire. The king therefore prepared the next ſummer to put a total end to theſe diſturbances, by raiſing a very large and powerful army.

Theſe wars and preparations for war, by obliging the king to have ſuch frequent recourſe to parliamentary ſupplies, became the remote cauſes of great and important changes in the government. The parliament was now modelled into the form which has continued ever ſince. As a great part of the property of the kingdom, by the introduction of commerce and improvements in agriculture, was transferred from the barons

barons to the lower claſs of people, ſo their conſent was thought neceſſary for raiſing the ſupplies. For this reaſon, the king iſſued writs to the ſheriffs, enjoining them to ſend to parliament, along with two knights of the ſhire, two deputies from each borough within their county; and theſe provided with ſufficient powers from their conſtituents to grant ſuch demands as they ſhould think reaſonable for the ſafety of the ſtate. The charges of theſe deputies were to be borne by the boroughs which ſent them; and ſo far were they from conſidering this deputation as an honour, that nothing could be more diſpleaſing to any borough than to be thus obliged to ſend a deputy, or to any individual than to be thus choſen. The authority of theſe commoners, however, increaſed through time. Their union gave them weight; and it became cuſtomary among them, in return for the ſupplies which they granted, to prefer petitions to the crown for the redreſs of thoſe grievances under which the nation was ſuppoſed to labour. The more the king's neceſſities increaſed, the more he found it neceſſary to give them an early redreſs; till, from requeſting, the commons proceeded to requiring; and, having all the property of the nation, they by degrees began alſo to be poſſeſſed of the power.

Edward I. died of a dyſentery at Carliſle on the 7th of July 1307, as he was leading his great army into Scotland, againſt the inhabitants of which he had vowed the moſt dreadful vengeance. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Edward II. whom he had charged with his dying breath to proſecute the war againſt the Scots, and never to deſiſt till he had finally ſubdued the kingdom.

Edward II. accordingly marched with his army towards Dumfries, as if to fulfil his father's injunctions; but the French king prevailed on him to conclude a peace with the Scots, and ſolemnize his marriage with Iſabella his daughter, to whom he had been contracted

in the life-time of his father; upon which the king diſmiſſed his army, and returned to England, and went over to Boloign, where he married princeſs Iſabella, and then haſtened back to England, and brought over with him his favourite Gaveſton. This man ſo greatly abuſed the power the king confided in him, that the barons forced the king to baniſh him twice, but ſoon, as before, recalled him again; and now many of the biſhops and barons reſolved to take up arms, and choſe the earl of Lancaſter. They then diſperſed themſelves into ſeveral parts of the kingdom to raiſe forces, and with the utmoſt expedition drew together a great body of troops.

In the mean time Edward was taking his diverſions at York, where he was with his favourite. The confederates marched directly for that place, in order to ſurpriſe him; but, upon notice of their approach, he retired to Newcaſtle, and, not thinking himſelf ſafe there, left it in haſte, and ſhut himſelf up with Gaveſton in Scarborough-caſtle; from whence he went into Warwickſhire to raiſe troops, but it was now too late. The barons entered Newcaſtle the day the king had left it; and ſeized his and Gaveſton's rich equipages, which in their hurry they had left behind. The king left Gaveſton in Scarborough-caſtle, thinking he was there moſt ſecure: but, the barons laying ſiege to it, it ſurrendered in a few days. Gaveſton had capitulated to ſee the king, and to be tried by his peers; which was promiſed him; but he was carried off to Warwick-caſtle, by the earl of Warwick, and there, after a haſty trial, beheaded. The king was purſued by the barons, and retired to London; where thinking himſelf not ſafe, he went to Canterbury. Shortly after, an accommodation was effected.

The diſputes afterwards about Gaveſton gave Robert Bruce an opportunity to make further progreſs. He entered England twice, and returned with great booty. He recovered ſeveral ſtrong places from the Engliſh,

Engliſh, and the Iſle of Man ſubmitted to him. He ſent Edward his brother to beſiege Sterling, the ſtrongeſt place in Scotland, and the only one that remained in the hands of the Engliſh. After a brave defence, the governor capitulated to ſurrender the town in a year, if it was not relieved before.

In the mean time king Edward, at the head of an hundred thouſand men, entered Scotland, and advanced within view of Sterling; where Robert waited his coming at the head of thirty thouſand. And now was fought the ever-memorable battle of Banockbourn, June 25, in which, notwithſtanding the great inequality of numbers, the Engliſh army was totally routed, with a moſt dreadful ſlaughter. The earl of Gloceſter, a great many other lords, and above ſeven hundred knights, lay dead on the field of battle. Edward haſtily retreated into England with the remains of his ſhattered army, and Scotland after this had peace for ſeveral years.

But Bruce continued to make ſeveral incurſions into England, and ravaged the borders in a terrible manner. He beſieged and took Berwick. Edward attempted to recover it, but was ſoon obliged to raiſe the ſiege; and afterwards a two-years truce was agreed upon between the two kingdoms. About four years after, king Edward, having got the better of his barons, marched his army into Scotland; but for want of proviſions was forced once more to retreat. Robert purſued him ſo cloſely, that he overtook him at Blackmore, where Edward's baggage fell into his hands, and he narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner. The Engliſh army being diſperſed, Robert marched on, ravaged the country to the very walls of York, and then returned laden with ſpoils; and at laſt agreed to a truce for thirteen years.

Soon after this event king Edward choſe a new favourite, named Hugh Le Deſpenſer. He was a young man of a noble Engliſh family; ſome merit, and very engaging

engaging accompliſhments. His father was a perſon of a much more reſpectable character than the ſon; but the being admitted to a ſhare of king Edward's favour was a ſufficient crime. The king imprudently diſpoſſeſſed ſome lords of their eſtates, in order to beſtow them upon this favourite; and this was a ſufficient pretence for openly attacking both father and ſon. The earls of Lancaſter and Hereford flew to arms. Sentence was procured from parliament of perpetual exile againſt the two Spenſers, with a forfeiture of their eſtates. At laſt the king took the field at the head of 30,000 men, and preſſed the earl of Lancaſter ſo cloſely, that he had not time to collect his forces together; and, flying from one place to another, he was at laſt ſtopped in his way towards Scotland, and made priſoner. He was immediately condemned by a court-martial; and executed on an eminence near Pomfret, with circumſtances of the greateſt indignity.

Spenſer now triumphed for ſome time over his enemies; moſt of the forfeitures were ſeized for his uſe, and he is ſaid to have been guilty of many acts of rapine and injuſtice. But he was ſoon oppoſed by a more formidable enemy. Queen Iſabella fled to France, and refuſed to return to England till Spenſer was removed from the royal preſence, and baniſhed the kingdom. Thus ſhe made herſelf popular in England, where Spenſer was univerſally diſliked; and ſhe had the pleaſure of enjoying the company of a young nobleman named Mortimer, upon whom ſhe had laſciviouſly caſt her eyes. The queen's court, therefore, became a ſanctuary for all the malecontents who were baniſhed their own country, or who choſe to come over. When ſhe thought matters were ripe for her purpoſe, ſhe ſet ſail from Dort harbour, accompanied by three thouſand armed men. She landed without oppoſition on the coaſt of Suffolk, on the 24th of September 1326; and ſhe no ſooner appeared, than there

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ſeemed to be a general revolt in her favour. The unfortunate king found a ſpirit of diſloyalty ſpread over the whole kingdom. He had placed ſome dependence on the garriſon of Briſtol, which was under the command of the elder Spenſer: but they mutinied againſt their governor: and that unfortunate favourite was delivered up, and condemned by the tumultuous barons to the moſt ignominious death. He was hanged on a gibbet in his armour; his body was cut in pieces and thrown to the dogs; and his head was ſent to Wincheſter, where it was ſet on a pole, and expoſed to the inſults of the populace. Young Spenſer did not long ſurvive his father. He was taken, with ſome others who had followed the fortunes of the wretched king, in an obſcure convent in Wales. The queen had not patience to wait the formality of a trial; but ordered him to be immediately led forth before the inſulting populace, and ſeemed to take a ſavage pleaſure in beholding his diſtreſs. He was executed on a gibbet fifty feet high; his head was ſent to London, where it was received by the citizens with brutal triumph, and fixed on the bridge.

In the mean time the king, who had hoped to find refuge in Wales, was quickly diſcovered, and delivered up to his adverſaries, who inſulted him in the groſſeſt manner. He was conducted to the capital amidſt the inſults and reproaches of the people, and confined in the tower. A charge was ſoon exhibited againſt him; in which no other crimes but his incapacity to govern, his indolence, and his love of pleaſure, and his being ſwayed by evil counſellors, were objected againſt him. His depoſition, however, was quickly voted by parliament; he was aſſigned a penſion for his ſupport; his ſon Edward, a youth of fourteen, was choſen to ſucceed him, and the queen was appointed regent during the minority. The depoſed monarch did not long ſurvive the loſs of his crown. He was at firſt conſigned to the cuſtody of the earl of Lancaſter; but,

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this nobleman ſhewing ſome marks of reſpect and pity, he was taken out of his hands, and delivered over to the lords Berkeley, Mautravers, and Gournay, who were entruſted alternately, each for a month, with the charge of guarding him. While he was in Berkley's cuſtody, he was ſtill uſed with ſome degree of humanity; but, when the turn of Mautravers and Gournay came, every ſpecies of indignity was practiſed upon him, as if they had deſigned to accelerate his death by the bitterneſs of his ſufferings. It is reported, that one day, when Edward was to be ſhaved, they ordered cold and dirty water to be brought from a ditch for that purpoſe; and when he deſired it to be changed, and was ſtill denied his requeſt, he burſt into tears, and exclaimed, That in ſpite of their inſolence he would be ſhaved with clean and warm water. As his perſecutors, however, ſaw that his death might not arrive, even under every cruelty they could practiſe, and were daily afraid of a revolution in his favour, they determined to rid themſelves of their fears by deſtroying him at once. Mortimer, therefore, ſecretly gave orders to the two keepers, who were at his devotion, inſtantly to diſpatch the king; and theſe ruffians contrived to make the manner of his death as cruel and barbarous as poſſible. Taking advantage of Berkeley's ſickneſs, in whoſe cuſtody he then was, and who was thereby incapacitated from attending his charge, they came to Berkeley-caſtle, and put themſelves in poſſeſſion of the king's perſon. They threw him on a bed, and held him down with a table which they had placed over him. They then ran a horn-pipe up his fundament, through which they conveyed a red-hot iron; and thus burnt his bowels without diſfiguring his body. By this infernal contrivance they expected to have their crime concealed: but the horrid ſhrieks of the king, which were heard at a diſtance from the caſtle, gave a ſuſpicion of the murder; and the whole was ſoon after divulged by the confeſſion of

one of the accomplices. Gournay and Mautravers were held in deteſtation by all mankind; and, when the enſuing revolution deprived their protectors of power, they found it neceſſary to fly the kingdom. Gournay was afterwards ſeized at Marſeilles, delivered over to the ſeneſchal of Guienne, and put on board a ſhip with a view of carrying him over to England; but he was beheaded at ſea, by ſecret orders, as was ſuppoſed, of ſome nobles and prelates in England, anxious to prevent any diſcovery which he might make of his accomplices. Mautravers concealed himſelf for ſeveral years in Germany; but, having found means of rendering ſome ſervices to Edward III. he ventured to approach his perſon, threw himſelf on his knees before him, and received a pardon.

The character of Edward II. appears to have been intirely free from any crime that could render him deſerving of ſo tragical an end. Unqualified by nature to govern a fierce and turbulent people, he was obliged to devolve on others the weight of government. Indolence and the want of penetration led him to make choice of miniſters and favourites who were not proof againſt the intoxication of delegated power. The ever-jealous barons, taking advantage of this imprudence, under pretence of attacking his miniſters, inſulted his perſon and invaded his authority; whilſt the impatient populace threw all the blame on their prince, and increaſed the public diſorders by their faction and violence. The unlimited confidence king Edward placed in his favourites, and the unbounded profuſion with which he rewarded their attachment, to the diſguſt of the whole nation, warranted in ſome meaſure this oppoſition. The partial ſmiles of a king, if beſtowed on an unworthy perſon, generally carry with them a poiſon, which for a time apparently invigorates, but at laſt proves fatal. The Engliſh hiſtory affords more inſtances than this before us, of the danger that reſults from ſuch an imprudent

partiality. The prince, who, deaf to the complaints of his people, liſtens only to the repreſentations of his favourite, and thoſe ſubſervient adherents which during his temporary exaltation attach themſelves to him, will find too late, that the opprobrium and puniſhment due to his oppreſſive acts are not confined to the abuſers of his confidence alone; but that they will reach even majeſty itſelf, and involve him in the certain and not unmerited ruin. Even the well-meaning Edward, in whoſe breaſt tyranny and oppreſſion appear not to have found a kindly ſoil, by blindly purſuing the counſels of his rapacious minions, found himſelf intangled in their guilt, and its conſequent deſtruction.

By the death of Edward II. the government fell entirely into the hands of the queen and her paramour Mortimer. The parliament, which raiſed young Edward to the throne, had indeed appointed twelve perſons as his privy-council, to direct the operations of government. Mortimer excluded himſelf, under a ſhow of moderation; but at the ſame time ſecretly influenced all the meaſures that came under their deliberation. As this influence began very ſoon to be perceived, and the queen's criminal attachment to Mortimer was univerſally known, theſe governors ſoon became very obnoxious to the people. The firſt ſtroke given to Mortimer's power was during an irruption of the Scots, when the favourite prevented the young king from attacking the enemy.

The whole nation, however, bowed before him; not one of the barons daring to diſpute his will, except the earl of Kent, who on that account he reſolved to remove out of the way. To effect this, he ſpread a report throughout the kingdom, by means of his emiſſaries, that king Edward the ſecond was ſtill alive in Corſe-caſtle, but viſible only to a few particular perſons. As he knew that the earl of Kent had always entertained a moſt cordial affection for his unhappy brother,

brother, and ſincerely lamented his death, he doubted not that he would exert himſelf in his favour, could he be perſuaded that he was really alive. Mortimer was not diſappointed in theſe expectations. The earl of Kent no ſooner heard the ſtory, which was now become the general topic of converſation, than he began to inquire into the foundation of the rumour. He examined Sir John Deverel, the governor of the caſtle, who, having received private inſtructions from the miniſter, confirmed the truth of it, inſinuating at the ſame time that he let him into the ſecret through friendſhip. Many other perſons of diſtinction firmly believing the report, and expreſſing their deſire of ſeeing the unfortunate monarch, and replacing him on the throne, the earl of Kent wrote him a letter; aſſuring him, that he would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to procure his liberty, and that the principal noblemen were determined to exert their power in reſtoring him to that dignity of which he had been ſo unjuſtly deprived. Sir John Deverel promiſed to deliver this letter to king Edward, but put it into the hands of Mortimer, who reſolved to employ it as the means of accompliſhing the earl's deſtruction. He accordingly directed the young king to convoke a parliament at Wincheſter: when, as few attended beſides his own creatures and dependents, the freedom of theſe aſſemblies being deſtroyed by his arbitrary proceedings, he had an opportunity of executing his cruel and revengeful purpoſes. He communicated the earl's letter to the king, with ſuch invidious reflections of his own, that Edward wrote to his uncle requiring his immediate attendance. He was no ſooner arrived at Wincheſter than he was taken into cuſtody and confined. Some of Mortimer's creatures being ſent to examine him, they returned with falſe reports and forged confeſſions; which ſo exaſperated the king, that he ordered the letter to be laid before the parliament. The conſequence which naturally aroſe from this method of

procedure was, that he was found guilty of high-treaſon, and condemned to loſe his head. Mortimer, apprehenſive that the king, from his humane diſpoſition and affection for his uncle, might be induced to grant the earl a pardon, reſolved to give him no time for deliberation. By the aſſiſtance of the queen mother, he procured a warrant from his majeſty, before his anger had ſubſided, and gave directions that it ſhould be carried into immediate execution. But ſo univerſally was the earl beloved, that the common executioner refuſed to perform his office; and, though he was brought on the ſcaffold about noon, yet it was evening before any one could be found to ſupply his place; even then the ſentence was executed by a felon, who, as a reward for the ſervice, received a free pardon for the crimes he had committed. The king was deeply affected at his uncle's death, and too late diſcovered the methods by which he had been impoſed on. But theſe illegal practices became at length the ſubject of daily complaints, and all parties conſpired in hatred againſt the deteſted perpetrator.

It was impoſſible that theſe abuſes could long eſcape the obſervation of a prince endowed with ſo much ſpirit and penetration as young Edward, who, being now in his eighteenth year, and thinking himſelf capable of governing, repined at being kept ſubſervient to this inſolent miniſter. But ſo much was he guarded by the emiſſaries of Mortimer, that it required great ſecreſy and caution to conduct any attempt to obtain his freedom. However, aſſiſted by ſeveral potent lords, whom he had gained over to his intereſt, he ſuddenly threw off the yoke, and ſeized the uſurper in an apartment adjoining to the queen's, at the caſtle at Nottingham, in the following manner. The young king being now a father*, the dominion of Mortimer became

* On the 24th day of January 1328, the king had married Philippa, daughter of William the Third, count of Hainault and Holland. The nuptials

came irkſome to him: he beheld with indignation his pride, arrogance, and avarice, and enjoyed a ſecret pleaſure at the public hatred and odium under which that nobleman laboured: he obſerved with equal ſhame and ſorrow the ſcandalous familiarity which ſubſiſted between his mother and her favourite: incenſed at theſe diſagreeable obſervations, which now furniſhed converſation for the public, he reſolved to free himſelf from his diſgraceful ſubjection to this inſolent upſtart. The king's ſentiments ſoon became perceptible to thoſe few noblemen that had acceſs to his majeſty, who failed not to inflame his reſentment; but as Mortimer had uſurped the royal authority, and intirely engroſſed the adminiſtration of public affairs into his own hands, the whole power of the kingdom was at his devotion. Beſides which, he was conſtantly ſurrounded by a body of two hundred armed knights, and continually employed a number of ſpies to watch the motions of his majeſty. This rendered the undertaking difficult; but king Edward was not of a temper to be intimidated by dangers: he imparted his deſign to William lord Montacute, and ſeveral other noblemen, who all concurred in adviſing him to apprehend the earl during the next ſeſſion of parliament, which was ſummoned to meet ſoon after at Nottingham. This was approved of by the king, and he ſet out with intention to take poſſeſſion of the caſtle of that city; but the queen mother and Mortimer, ſuſpecting his deſign, repaired thither before him, and took up their quarters in it with all their attendants, ſo that there was ſcarcely room for the king himſelf. Mortimer, having received from his ſpies intelligence of the intentions of his enemies, made ſure of defeating their project by a timely ſeizure of their perſons.

nuptials were celebrated at York with great pomp and ſplendour; but the ceremony of her coronation was not performed till about two years after. And on the 15th day of June, 1330, their eldeſt ſon the prince of Wales, furnamed Edward the Black Prince, was born at Wodeſtoke.

This

This however he was prevented from doing by the expedition of lord Montacute, who prevailed on Sir William Ealand, governor of the caſtle, to favour their ſcheme. Sir William readily agreed to aſſiſt his majeſty; but at the ſame time informed him, that it was impracticable to admit them by the common entry, as the queen had ordered new locks to be put upon the gates, and the keys to be brought every night into her chamber, and laid under her pillow. Nevertheleſs he recollected, that on the weſtern ſide of the caſtle there was an old cavern, the mouth of a ſubterraneous paſſage which led into the caſtle, and through this he engaged to conduct them to Mortimer's apartment. The following day the governor, with lord Montacute and ſeveral other valiant knights, took horſe and precipitately left Nottingham. Mortimer concluded they had fled to avoid being ſeized by his adherents; but they returned about midnight, and, entering the ſubterranean paſſage (which is ſtill known by the name of Mortimer's hole), they were conducted by Sir William into the chief tower of the caſtle: from thence they advanced into the chamber adjoining to the queen's apartment, where Mortimer was ſitting with a few of his chief dependents; and, notwithſtanding reſiſtance was made on the firſt alarm by ſome of his knights, he was ſoon taken priſoner. The queen, ſtartled at the noiſe, and ſuſpecting the cauſe, called aloud in the French language to her ſon, whom ſhe imagined to be at the head of the party, "Bel fitz! Bel fitz! ayez pitie du gentile Mortimer." Fair ſon! Fair ſon! have pity on the noble Mortimer. No anſwer being returned to her intreaties, ſhe ruſhed into the room among the conſpirators, and earneſtly beſought them to do no injury to his perſon, for he was a worthy knight, her dear friend, and well-beloved couſin. She had however the mortification to find that her ſupplications were ineffectual. This tranſaction was conducted with ſo much ſecreſy and diſpatch,

diſpatch, that the people in the town knew nothing of it till the next morning; when two of Mortimer's ſons, and ſeveral of his partizans, being likewiſe apprehended, they were all ſent to the tower of London. The parliament proceeded immediately to the trial of this proud peer, before whom he was accuſed of many crimes and miſdemeanors; and, as from the ſuppoſed notoriety of the facts evidence was thought unneceſſary, he was condemned, and executed without delay on a gibbet near London. The queen was confined to her own palace, and her revenue greatly decreaſed; and, though the king paid her a ceremonious viſit once or twice a year, ſhe was never able to regain his good opinion, or to reinſtate herſelf in any credit or authority. Such are the ſure effects which flow from a vicious and irregular conduct; nor can the moſt elevated ſituation, the blaze of pomp, or any human precaution, ſecure the offender from the ſlow, but no leſs certain, inflictions of juſtice. She lived twenty-five years after her depoſition.

Of the Wars of England during the Reign of Edward III.

THE reign of Edward III. might be ſaid to commence from this time: for, though he had been ſeated on the throne more than three years, yet his youth ſerved as a pretext for the queen and Mortimer to uſurp the regal power, and leave him only the title. He now, like the riſing ſun, which had for a while been obſcured by the lagging clouds of night, broke out with unuſual ſplendour; and, till he became again clouded near the verge of the horizon in his deſcent, continued to ſhed with unremitted ardour his enlivening beams on the kingdom over which he preſided, raiſing it to a pitch of glory unknown before. He began by applying himſelf with induſtry and judg-

ment

ment to redreſs all thoſe grievances which had either proceeded from want of authority in the crown, or from the abuſe of it.

No period of our hiſtory is read with more fondneſs or greater exultation than the reign of this great monarch. The aſcendancy which this nation then began to acquire over the French, makes us caſt our eyes on this æra with great ſatisfaction, and purifies every meaſure Edward embraced for that end. Nor was the domeſtic government of this king leſs worthy of admiration, than his foreign victories; as England enjoyed, by the vigour and prudence of his adminiſtration, a longer interval of domeſtic peace and tranquillity, than ſhe had been bleſſed with in any former period, or than ſhe experienced for many ages after. He curbed the licentiouſneſs of the barons by his reſolution, whilſt, by his affable and obliging behaviour, his munificence and generoſity, he gained their affections, and made them ſubmit with pleaſure to his dominion. To this, his foreign wars contributed not a little; as they ſerved to employ thoſe unquiet ſpirits againſt the public enemy, which otherwiſe would have been engaged in diſturbances at home.

The firſt exertion of king Edward's military abilities was againſt the Scots, who, as we have related, were perpetually making inroads into England. Whilſt he was under the dominion of Mortimer, he had repulſed Murray and Douglas, two celebrated warriors, in an attempt they made on his frontiers; but they eluded his purſuit, and retired to their own country, without his being able to bring them to a deciſive battle. Even then that bravery and conduct which afterwards immortalized his name, became conſpicuous; for whilſt the armies lay near each other, divided only by a river, which Edward found it impracticable to paſs, Douglas, the Scottiſh general, having obtained the watch-word, and ſurveyed exactly the ſituation of the Engliſh camp, entered it ſecretly in

the night-time with a ſmall but choſen body of troops. He advanced to the king's tent, with a view of killing or carrying off the young monarch in the midſt of his army: happily ſome of Edward's attendants waking in that critical moment, they made reſiſtance, and ſacrificed their lives for the ſafety of their royal maſter. The king himſelf had juſt time to ſnatch his ſword, and after making a valiant defence eſcaped in the dark. Douglas, having loſt the greateſt part of his followers, was glad to make a haſty retreat. Diſappointed in his ſcheme, he did not think proper to await the reſentment of the Engliſh, but, taking advantage of the night, expeditiouſly decamped without notice; by this means he got the ſtart of his enemies, and arrived without loſs in his own country.

During the king's minority, Mortimer, to enſure a continuance of his power, had conſented to diſavow the ſuperiority of England over that kingdom, which Edward I. had taken ſo much pains to aſſert. He had alſo prevailed on the young king to give a bond for a conſiderable ſum to the pope, who acted as mediator, to be paid if he violated the treaty within four years. For this and ſeveral other reaſons, he thought it prudent to avoid at preſent an open rupture. However he ſecretly encouraged Baliol, who laid claim to the crown of Scotland, now poſſeſſed by David Bruce a minor; and no ſooner was the term of the truce expired, than he raiſed a conſiderable force, and marched towards that kingdom.

When he arrived on the borders of Scotland, he found himſelf attacked by Douglas, the regent, with an army much ſuperior to his own; but he received them with ſo much ſteadineſs, that they were ſoon thrown into diſorder; and on the fall of their general entirely routed. It is aſſerted both by the Scotch and Engliſh hiſtorians, that in this battle, fought at Halidown-Hill near Berwick, all the nobles of diſtinction among the Scots, with thirty thouſand of their troops,

were either ſlain or taken priſoners; whilſt the loſs of the Engliſh amounted to only one knight, one eſquire, and thirteen private ſoldiers: but theſe accounts are certainly much exaggerated, though the inequality was, without diſpute, very great. After this deciſive blow the Scottiſh nobles had no other reſource but inſtant ſubmiſſion; and Edward leaving a conſiderable body with Baliol, whoſe cauſe he now openly eſpouſed, to complete the conqueſt of the kingdom, he returned with the remainder of his army to England.

The warlike inclinations of king Edward not permitting him to remain inactive, he now employed his thoughts on a more conſiderable conqueſt. On the death of Charles the Fair, king of France, which happened when Edward was about fifteen years of age, he had formed pretenſions to the crown of that kingdom; and he now found leiſure to aſſert them. It is true, theſe pretenſions appear not to be very juſtly founded; but many monarchs have mounted a throne, and tranſmitted it to their poſterity, on weaker claims, even ſuppoſing the cuſtoms of the French, like the laws of the Medes and Perſians, to be unalterable.

As at this period the foundation was laid of that war which was carried on between France and England with great vigour for above a century, and gave riſe to that national animoſity which remains yet unextinguiſhed, it is neceſſary to give an explicit account of the cauſes from whence it flowed, and the grounds on which king Edward founded his claim. In all the preceding reigns ſince the Conqueſt, the hoſtilities between the two crowns had been only caſual and temporary; and, never being attended with any bloody or dangerous events, the traces of them were eaſily obliterated by the firſt treaty of pacification. The Engliſh nobility valued themſelves on their French or Norman extraction, and affected to uſe the language of that country in all public tranſactions, as well as in familiar converſation; but from this æra all amity between

tween the two nations was deſtroyed, and an unfriendly rivalſhip eſtabliſhed in its room.

It had long been a prevailing opinion, that the crown of France could never deſcend to females: though it is uncertain at what age, or by which of their monarchs, this law, commonly termed the Salique law, was framed; yet, as it was ſupported by antient precedents, it had acquired equal authority with the moſt expreſs and poſitive laws of that kingdom. It is probable, that in the earlieſt ages of that monarchy, the Franks were ſo rude end barbarous a people, that they were incapable of ſubmitting to a female reign. Since that time the crown had always been worn by the neareſt male heir; and, from Hugh Capet to Lewis Hutin, it had regularly deſcended, without interruption, from father to ſon, for eleven generations: ſo that the kingdom of France had, during the courſe of nine hundred years, been governed by males, and the ſucceſſion undiſputed.

Philip the Fair, father of Lewis Hutin, left three ſons, Lewis, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair; with one daughter, Iſabella queen of England, mother of king Edward. Lewis Hutin the eldeſt, having married Margaret, ſiſter to the duke of Burgundy, at his death left one daughter; but, according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom, Philip, the ſecond brother, was proclaimed king. This however was not done without the duke of Burgundy's making great oppoſition in behalf of his niece, which ſhews that king Edward's pretenſions were not unparallelled and romantic. However Philip kept poſſeſſion of the throne; and the ſtates, by a ſolemn decree, excluded the young princeſs, and declared all females for ever incapable of ſucceeding to the crown of France. Philip died after a ſhort reign, leaving three daughters; and his brother Charles, without diſpute or controverſy, then ſucceeded to the crown. The reign of Charles was alſo ſhort: he left one daughter, and was ſucceeded by

Philip de Valois, couſin-german to the three laſt kings, being ſon of Philip de Valois, brother of Philip the Fair. This ſucceſſion, as it was not ſo immediate as thoſe had been for eleven generations back, gave king Edward room to found his pretenſions in right of his mother. He aſſerted, that, though queen Iſabella as a female could not mount the throne of her anceſtors, yet he himſelf, who inherited through her, was liable to no ſuch objection, and might claim by nearneſs of blood. The king of Navarre had undoubtedly a prior right to the crown, as deſcended from the daughter of Lewis Hutin; but, if he choſe to ſuffer his claim to lie dormant, ſuch a precedent was not ſufficient to deter Edward from aſſerting pretenſions, which, at that time, appeared well founded, and which the ſupineneſs of any competitor could not invalidate. Some allowance ought certainly to be made for the ſanguine expectations of a youthful monarch, naturally fond, from the temper of the times, of extending his dominions; and much praiſe is due to the ſpirit with which he afterwards ſupported them.

Well founded as king Edward ſuppoſed his claims to be, he did not however think proper as yet to inſiſt on them; as it muſt have immediately involved him, on very unequal terms, in a dangerous war with a powerful potentate; king Philip being a prince mature in years and experience, and firmly eſtabliſhed on his throne. He was even obliged to ſubmit ſo far as to go over to France, to do homage to that king for the province of Guienne, which he held under him. The forfeiture of ſo rich an inheritance would otherwiſe, agreeable to the feudal law, have been the immediate conſequence of his declining to perform the duty of a vaſſal. Edward, therefore, yielding to neceſſity, went to Amiens, and performed the diſagreeable taſk; but found his reſentment againſt his competitor, as he then eſteemed him, ſo augmented, that a few incidents, which ſoon happened, rendered it ungovernable.

Robert

Robert d'Artois, deſcended from the blood royal of France, was a man of great character and authority; he had eſpouſed king Philip's ſiſter, and by his birth, talents, and credit, was entitled to fill the higheſt ſtations under his ſovereign. This prince had loſt the county of Artois, which he claimed his birth-right, by a ſentence of Philip the Fair. The determination being generally deemed unjuſt, he was ſeduced to attempt the recovery of his poſſeſſions by an act ſo unworthy of his rank and character as a forgery. The detection of this crime covered him with ſhame and confuſion; his brother-in-law not only abandoned, but perſecuted him with violence; and this unhappy prince was obliged to ſeek refuge in England. He was here favourably received by king Edward, and ſoon admitted into his councils and confidence. Excited by revenge againſt the French monarch, and impelled by rage and deſpair, he endeavoured to increaſe the prepoſſeſſions entertained by Edward in favour of his title to the crown of France.

The Engliſh king needed but few excitations on this point; his reſentment againſt Philip had already taken deep root: it was alſo greatly augmented by ſome recent complaints from Guienne, and the protection and aſſiſtance he afforded David Bruce the exiled king of Scotland. He therefore formed the reſolution of ſeeking redreſs; and to this purpoſe endeavoured to make alliances with ſome of the neighbouring ſtates. The count of Hainault, whoſe daughter Edward had married, ſoon became his ſteady friend; and by his interceſſion, aided by large remittances from England, the duke of Brabant, the archbiſhop of Cologne, the duke of Gueldres, the Flemings, and ſeveral other powers, were engaged to embrace the Engliſh alliance.

Edward's plan being now ripe for execution, in the beginning of the year 1338, and the twelfth of his reign, he ſailed over into Flanders, attended by many of

of his nobles, and a conſiderable body of Engliſh forces. He now aſſumed the title of king of France, as a plea for this invaſion; whilſt the German and other princes endeavoured to find ſome plauſible pretext for joining in the league. King Edward now, for the firſt time, quartered the arms of France with thoſe of England. The inſcription of the great ſeal was altered from duke of Aquitain to king of France, the former being abſorbed in the latter, and it was on this occaſion he adopted the motto of "*Dieu & mon droit*," God and my right; alluding to the deſign of maintaining his title to the crown of that kingdom. Philip made neceſſary preparations to repel this attack, and formed connections more cordial and powerful than thoſe entered into by his antagoniſt. The allies of Edward, having no other object for their interference than his money, were ſlow in their motions, and irreſolute in their meaſures; it was conſequently late in the ſummer before the king could lead his forces into the field: he was even then obliged, in order to allure his German auxilaries into his meaſures, to conſent that the firſt attack ſhould be made on Cambray, a city of the empire, which had been garriſoned by Philip: but on a nearer inſpection, judging the attempt to be impracticable, he conducted them towards the frontiers of France.

Here he found, by a ſenſible proof, the vanity of his expectations, and the little dependence there is to be placed in foreign mercenaries. The count of Namur, and even the count of Hainault his brother-in-law (for the old count was lately dead), refuſed to commence hoſtilities againſt their liege lord, and retired with all their troops. King Edward however entered the enemy's country, and encamped near Caſſel, with an army of fifty thouſand men, compoſed chiefly of auxiliaries. Philip came within ſight of him, with an army nearly double to that of his opponent, and moſt of thoſe his native ſubjects. It

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was daily expected that a battle would have enſued; but, as the Engliſh monarch was averſe to begin an engagement againſt ſo great an inequality, Philip thought it ſufficient to elude the attacks of his invader without running any unneceſſary hazard. The two armies faced each other for ſeveral days; mutual defiances were ſent; and king Edward at laſt retired in good order into Flanders, where he diſperſed his army. Though the Engliſh monarch was unſucceſsful in this attempt, yet he gave proofs of great courage and conduct. With half the force of his adverſary, and thoſe conſiſting of mercenaries, on whom he was aſſured he could place little dependence, he repeatedly defied his powerful competitor, and led back his troops without ſuſtaining any loſs.

King Edward was a prince of too much ſpirit to be diſcouraged by the firſt difficulties of an undertaking; they only animated him to endeavour to retrieve his honour by more ſucceſsful enterprizes. Expenſive as this expedition had been, he was not deterred by this conſideration from proſecuting his plan. He had contracted a debt of near three hundred thouſand pounds; had anticipated all his revenue; had pawned every thing of value which belonged to himſelf or the queen; and was obliged to pledge himſelf to his mercenary allies, by deſiring permiſſion to go over to England to procure a ſupply, promiſing on his word of honour to return in perſon if he did not remit them the money; yet in theſe embarraſſed circumſtances he ſuffered not his noble heart to be dejected. Relying on his ſubjects love, he returned home, and procured from his parliament great aids for the maintenance of the war. He obtained from the barons and knights an unuſual grant, for two years, of the tenth ſheaf, fleece, and lamb, (the ſubſidies of that age;) and from the burgeſſes a tenth of their moveables at their true value.

As Philip was apprized, from the preparations which were making both in England and the Low Countries

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the year following, that he muſt expect another invaſion, he fitted out a fleet conſiſting of four hundred veſſels, manned with forty thouſand men, and ſtationed them off Sluiſe, with a view of intercepting the king of England in his paſſage. King Edward, notwithſtanding he had received intelligence of this intended oppoſition, and was ſtrongly diſſuaded by ſome of his counſellors *, was not to be deterred from his purpoſe of returning to the continent. Though his armament was greatly inferior to that of the French, conſiſting only of two hundred and forty ſhips, yet depending on his own courage, the valour of his forces, and the ſkill of his ſeamen, he ſet ſail. By a manœuvre he gained the wind of the enemy; and in this poſition the Engliſh had the ſun, which then happened to ſhine with great power, on their backs; advantages which operated greatly in their favour. Theſe, added to the king's great example, and that of his gallant nobles, animated the ſoldiers and ſeamen to ſuch a degree, that though the French, encouraged by their ſuperior numbers, maintained the combat for a conſiderable time, yet they were at length obliged to yield. Great numbers, intimidated at the irreſiſtible fury with which they were attacked by the men at arms, threw themſelves headlong into the ſea. Two hundred and thirty French ſhips were taken; and thirty thouſand of their men, with two of their admirals, killed or drowned. When the news of this defeat arrived at Paris, not one of king Philip's courtiers dared to deliver him the fatal intelligence, till his jeſter gave him a hint, by which he

* The biſhop of Chicheſter, then chancellor, endeavoured to divert the king from this deſign, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed his embarkation; but, when he found that his admonitions would not avail, he reſigned the ſeals, and haſtily retired from court. King Edward imputing his warmth to its right cauſe, a real zeal for his intereſt, inſtead of being offended at it, did not think it beneath him to ſend for the biſhop and re-inſtate him in his office. A convincing proof that hiſtorians have juſtly celebrated that monarch for his moderation and prudence.

diſcovered the loſs he had ſuſtained. The buffoon came into the royal preſence, and exclaimed ſeveral times with great warmth and vehemence, "Cowardly Engliſhmen; daſtardly Engliſhmen; faint-hearted Engliſhmen." The king aſking him the reaſon why he gave them theſe opprobrious epithets, he replied, "Becauſe they had not the courage to leap into the ſea, like our brave Frenchmen."

The king of England's authority among his allies was greatly ſtrengthened by this ſucceſs; they conſequently aſſembled their forces with greater alacrity than they had done the laſt campaign, and joined the Engliſh army in good ſeaſon. Edward marched to the frontiers of France at the head of one hundred thouſand men, whilſt the Flemings, to the amount of fifty thouſand, under the command of Robert d'Artois, laid ſiege to St. Omer's. The latter, being chiefly compoſed of artizans unexperienced in war, were routed by a ſally of the garriſon; and, notwithſtand the abilities of their leader, were thrown into ſuch a panic, that they were inſtantly diſperſed, and never after appeared in the field.

King Edward at the ſame time laid ſiege to Tournay, then one of the conſiderable cities in Flanders. Philip, having been informed of this deſign, had ſupplied it with fourteen thouſand of his beſt troops, commanded by the braveſt of his generals: Edward conſequently met with a vigorous reſiſtance. His own valour, which his ſoldiers ſtrove to emulate, could not avail; every aſſault, though planned with the greateſt judgment, and executed with uncommon perſeverance, proved unſucceſsful; he therefore turned the ſiege into a blockade, in hopes that the great numbers of the garriſon and inhabitants would oblige them to ſurrender through famine. After the blockade had continued ten weeks, the city was reduced to great diſtreſs; and Philip advanced at the head of a mighty army to its relief. But even now the ſame

caution with which that king had hitherto acted continued to be the rule of his operations; he ſtill avoided coming to a deciſive action, and only ſought for an opportunity to afford the garriſon ſome ſuccour.

King Edward, irritated with the ſmall progreſs he had made, and impelled by his natural valour, which could not brook ſuch tardy proceedings, ſent Philip a defiance; challenging him to decide their claims to the crown of France either by a ſingle combat, by an action between one hundred knights on each ſide, or by a general engagement. The French king replied, that as Edward had done homage to him for the duchy of Guienne, and had thereby acknowledged his ſuperiority, it by no means became him to ſend a defiance to his ſovereign. By this and other evaſive excuſes he declined the combat; and both armies lay adjacent to each other, expecting every day that a general action could not long be avoided.

Whilſt things continued in this ſituation, Jane counteſs dowager of Hainault, mother-in-law to Edward and ſiſter to Philip, interpoſed, and endeavoured to reconcile the contending monarchs. Though this princeſs had taken the vows in a convent, and had abandoned the world, ſhe left her retreat on ſo intereſting an occaſion, and employed all her pious efforts to allay thoſe animoſities which had taken place between perſons ſo nearly related to her and to each other. Her humane endeavours ſo far ſucceeded, as to bring the hoſtile kings to conſent to a truce till the Midſummer following; and each diſmiſſing his forces, retired to their reſpective dominions.

During the interval of peace, king Edward employed his time in the regulation of the internal police of his kingdom; till another incident arouſed his warlike inclinations, and excited anew that reſentment againſt the king of France which had not been totally eradicated, but only lay ſlumbering in his breaſt.

John,

John, the third duke of Britanny, finding himſelf ſome years before his death gradually ſinking under the weight of age and infirmities, and having no iſſue, was ſolicitous to prevent the diſorders attendant on a diſputed ſucceſſion. His younger brother, the count de Penthievre, had left only one child, which was a daughter, and whom the duke deemed his heir. As his family had inherited the duchy by a female ſucceſſion, he thought her title preferable to that of the count de Mountfort, who being his brother only by a ſecond marriage, though the next male heir, was not the preſumptive ſucceſſor to that principality. Propoſing therefore to beſtow her on ſome perſon who might be able to defend her rights, he caſt his eyes on Charles de Blois, nephew to the king of France, being the ſon of Margaret de Valois, ſiſter of that monarch. But as he loved his ſubjects, and was beloved by them, he determined not to take this important ſtep without their approbation: he accordingly aſſembled the ſtates of Brittany, and, repreſenting to them the advantages which would attend this alliance, found that they willingly concurred in his choice. The marriage was ſoon after concluded, and all his vaſſals, among whom was the Count de Mountfort himſelf, ſwore fealty to Charles and his conſort as their future ſovereign. Thus every danger of civil commotions ſeemed to be obviated, as far as human prudence could find a remedy againſt them.

But on the death of this good prince, the ambition of the count de Mountfort broke through all theſe prudent regulations. Whilſt Charles de Blois was ſoliciting at the court of France the inveſtiture of the duchy, Mountfort was active in gaining poſſeſſion of it. By force or intrigue he made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong fortreſſes, and engaged many conſiderable barons to acknowledge his authority. Senſible that he could expect no favour from the king of France, he made a voyage to England on pretence of

ſoliciting his claim to the earldom of Richmond, which had devolved to him by his brother's death; but his real intention was to procure aſſiſtance from king Edward. He accordingly propoſed an alliance between that prince and himſelf; offering at the ſame time to do homage to him as king of France for the duchy of Brittany. The Engliſh monarch immediately ſaw the advantages that would attend this treaty, and accepted the conditions, as they correſponded ſo well with his favourite wiſhes. It was, however, neceſſary to keep this union as yet a ſecret; and Mountfort on his return ventured to appear at Paris to defend his cauſe: but, obſerving the French king to be prejudiced againſt him, he ſuddenly made his eſcape, and hoſtilities immediately commenced between him and Charles de Blois.

In the courſe of the war, during which king Edward had privately given him aſſiſtance, the count de Mountfort being beſieged in the city of Nantz, and made priſoner, he was ſhut up in the tower of the Louvre. After this captivity, Jane of Flanders, his counteſs, the moſt extraordinary woman of that age, ſupported for a while the fading honours of her family: at length, finding her heroic efforts ineffectual, ſhe ſailed to England in hopes of obtaining further ſuccours from king Edward. That prince liſtened to her ſupplications, and granted her a conſiderable reinforcement under Robert d'Artois. On their paſſage they were met by the enemy's fleet, and an engagement enſued, in which the counteſs behaved with more than female intrepidity, charging her foes ſword in hand, and animating her own forces by her example. Whilſt the victory remained doubtful a ſtorm aroſe, and the fleets being ſeparated, that of the Engliſh arrived ſafe in Brittany.

For a ſhort time ſucceſs ſeemed to attend the arms of the counteſs; but Robert d'Artois being ſlain, and Fortune, ever fickle, deſerting her, king Edward found

found it neceſſary to undertake in perſon the ſupport of that lady. The truce which had been concluded with France being now expired, the Engliſh and French no longer appeared in the field as allies to the competitors for Brittany, but as principals in the war. King Edward, having landed in France with about twelve thouſand men, endeavoured to give a luſtre to his arms, by laying ſiege to three important cities at once; but finding the number of his troops unequal to his great deſigns, and that his enemies were well provided with all kinds of neceſſaries, whilſt he was obliged to draw all his ſupplies from England, he willingly liſtened to the mediation of two cardinals, the pope's legates, who happened at that time to be in France, and agreed to another truce for three years. Notwithſtanding his dangerous ſituation, diſtreſſed for proviſions, and ſurrounded by a ſuperior enemy, he had the addreſs to procure for himſelf, and the perſon on whoſe account he had undertaken the expedition, very honourable terms.

This truce however was of no long continuance: real or pretended injuries ſerved both parties as a pretext to put an end to it. King Edward, apprehenſive, from the hoſtile preparations openly made by his adverſary, of an attack on Guienne, ſent the earl of Derby, ſon to the duke of Lancaſter, and under him the earls of Pembroke, Arundel, and Oxford, into France, with a conſiderable army, for the protection of that province. This prince could not confine his ardour to the ſecurity of theſe domains alone, but made many ſucceſsful inroads into the territories of his enemies. The count de l'Iſle, an experienced French general, was his opponent; yet the earl, with only a thouſand cavalry, attacked his army unexpectedly, and, after taking the count himſelf priſoner, obtained a complete victory. The count, with twelve thouſand men, had laid ſiege to Auberoche, and battered it with engines ſo furiouſly, that in ſix days the

the fortifications were almoſt demoliſhed. The earl of Derby, apprized of the diſtreſs of the garriſon, ſet out from Bourdeaux by night with a party of three hundred lances, and about twice that number of archers: he had previouſly ſent orders to the earl of Pembroke, who lay at Bergerac with three hundred men at arms, and four thouſand archers, to join him with theſe forces at Libourne. He reached this place himſelf before morning, and waited all day for lord Pembroke's arrival, keeping his ſmall army concealed from the enemy; but, finding that nobleman did not overtake him, he marched on in the night, and by daybreak arrived within two leagues of Auberoche. On this ſpot he alſo remained till the following evening, in hopes of the reinforcement; when, deſpairing of any aſſiſtance, he was perſuaded by the gallant Sir Walter Manny to beat up the French quarters while they ſhould be at ſupper. With this view they proceeded under covert of a wood, till they were cloſe to one diviſion of the enemy's camp; they then ruſhed in upon them with ſo much impetuoſity, that the count de l'Iſle, the general, with the count Perigort and Valentinois, were taken in their tents before they had time to recover from their ſurprize. Great numbers of the French, unable to make any reſiſtance, were cut to pieces, and the reſt betook themſelves to flight. But whilſt havock and confuſion prevailed in this quarter, the other part of the French army, commanded by the count de Cominges, flew to arms; and, being drawn up in order of battle, advanced againſt the Engliſh with great intrepidity. The earl of Derby, though he had not one-fourth of the number, determined to make a vigorous effort to complete the work he had ſo happily begun: and, collecting his forces into a compact batallion, charged the enemy with irreſiſtible fury. The French, deſirous of revenging the death of their countrymen, gave him a warm reception; and, a deſperate engagement enſuing, the

the victory remained for a long time doubtful, till the garriſon of Auberoche, hearing the trumpet ſound a charge on both ſides, and, deſcrying ſome Engliſh banners, though it was now twilight, ſallied forth in great numbers, and, falling on the rear of the French army, decided the fortune of the day. The enemy, unable to make any further reſiſtance, were inſtantly routed with great ſlaughter; their loſs in both actions amounting to ſeven thouſand ſlain, and twelve hundred priſoners, among whom were ten noblmen, and two hundred knights and gentlemen. The earl of Pembroke arrived next morning with the troops under his command, and was greatly vexed that he had not the happineſs to ſhare in ſo glorious an action. Improving this advantage, he reduced in a rapid ſucceſſion the moſt capital fortreſſes of the adjacent provinces. But the French king having at length raiſed a powerful army, and given the command of it to his ſon the duke of Normandy, the Engliſh were unable to keep the field againſt ſo great a ſuperiority: the earl of Derby therefore could only act on the defenſive, and, by bravely defending the towns he had taken, retard the progreſs of the French towards Guienne, for the reduction of which great preparations had been made.

King Edward was no ſooner informed by the earl of this unexpected revolution, than he prepared to haſten in perſon to his relief; but being detained at Southampton a conſiderable time, by contrary winds, and deſpairing of arriving in time to ſave Guienne, he was perſuaded, by Geoffrey d'Harcourt, a Norman, to change the place of his deſtination. This nobleman having diſpleaſed his maſter, the king of France, to avoid his anger fled to England; where he was received by king Edward as a valuable acquiſition. Urged by the ſame motives as Robert d'Artois, he entered into the king's reſentments, and adviſed him to the beſt methods of proſecuting them. He pointed out

out to him, that an invaſion by way of Normandy promiſed more certain ſucceſs than the intended expedition to Guienne; the northern provinces of the kingdom being left almoſt defenceleſs by the departure of thoſe troops which had been drawn towards the ſouth: that this part of the country, being exceedingly plentiful, would ſupply his army with neceſſaries; whilſt the many rich cities with which it alſo abounded, would afford plunder ſufficient to repay the expences of the war. Theſe, and many other reaſons which this nobleman gave the king, induced him to alter his plan; and he ordered his fleet, which conſiſted of near a thouſand ſail, to ſteer for La Hogue, in Normandy, where after a ſhort paſſage he ſafely diſembarked his army on the 12th of July 1346.

In this expedition the prince of Wales, then only ſixteen years old, firſt entered on that ſtage, which he ever after trod with ſo much reputation to himſelf and glory to the kingdom which gave him birth. It is uncertain whether he acquired the name of Black Prince from the colour of the armour he uſually wore, as ſome hiſtorians aſſert, or from that gloom which his dreadful deeds in war ſpread over the whole kingdom of France, and induced that people to give him the appellation of Le Noir. The prince, with ſeveral of the young nobility, received the honour of knighthood, from his royal father, on their landing; and, every prudent diſpoſition being made by king Edward, the Engliſh army immediately marched towards Caen, a populous and commercial city.

The king of France was thrown into the greateſt perplexity, when he was informed of this unexpected invaſion; he, however, iſſued orders for raiſing troops from all quarters, and in the mean time diſpatched the count d'Eu, conſtable of France, and the count de Tankerville, to ſtop the progreſs of his adverſary. The inhabitants of Caen, receiving this reinforcement, animated by their numbers, ventured, againſt the ad-

EDWARD the BLACK PRINCE.

vice of the conſtable to meet the Engliſh in the field; but, their courage failing them on the firſt ſhock, they fled with precipitation, leaving the two counts, their commanders, to the mercy of the enemy. The victors entered the city with the flying citizens, and a dreadful maſſacre enſued; king Edward, however, put a ſtop to it as ſoon as it was poſſible, but permitted his men to begin a plunder, which laſted three days. The effects collected on this occaſion were put on-board the ſhips and ſent over to England, with three hundred of the richeſt citizens, from whoſe ranſom the captors expected a future profit.

The king marched next to Rouen, in hopes of treating that city in the ſame manner; but he found that Philip was arrived there with a conſiderable force, and that he had already ordered the bridge to be broken down. Diſappointed in this deſign, he continued his march along the banks of the Seine in his route to Paris, wiſhing to get poſſeſſion of his enemy's capital. In this ſcheme he was alſo fruſtrated by the ſame precautions; for he found all the bridges demoliſhed both on that river and on the Somme.

Edward's ſituation now became extremely hazardous; as on the oppoſite banks of the river an army commanded by lord Gondemar de Faye attended his motions, whilſt Philip purſued him at the head of one hundred thouſand men. In this dilemma the king offered a conſiderable reward to any one that would give him intelligence of a ſafe paſſage over the Somme. A peaſant, tempted by the ſum, betrayed the intereſt of his country, and informed him of a ford below Abbeville, which might be paſſed at low water. The indefatigable king haſtened thither, but found Gondemar poſted on the oppoſite ſhore. He deliberated not a moment, but, attended by his brave ſon, threw himſelf into the ſtream, and, being properly ſupported, drove his oppoſers from their ſtation. His rear-guard had ſcarcely gained the ſhore, when king Philip's

army arrived; they were however prevented from overtaking them by the return of the tide. Thus did the Engliſh monarch, by his prudence and celerity, eſcape a danger, which, from his ſituation, and the ſuperior number of his enemies, appeared inevitable. As Philip, by this incident, was obliged to take a conſiderable circuit, it gave Edward time to encamp on the field of Creſſey; and to make the moſt proper diſpoſition of his army for the reception of ſo formidable an enemy.

When king Edward had iſſued out his orders, he invited his principal officers to an entertainment in his tent; and, during the whole evening, appeared ſo cheerful and ſerene, that a calm intrepidity diffuſed itſelf through every breaſt, and made them rather expect the morning with impatience, though ſo greatly out-numbered, than behold its approach with dread.

Edward the Black Prince, not yet arrived at the age of manhood, being at this time but ſixteen years old, ſat amidſt the ſurrounding nobles with the compoſure of a veteran. In the paſſage over the Somme he had, for the firſt time, ſtained his ſword in blood; but, as the conteſt was of a ſhort duration, he had an opportunity only of ſhewing a ſmall part of that ſtrength and valour which the next day enabled him to perform incredible acts of heroiſm.

As ſoon as the morning dawned, the king and his ſon aroſe, and immediately proceeded to the performance of their religious duties. Courage was not a ſurer effervescence of knighthood than piety; nor could it be more genuine and ſincere than in the hearts of theſe truly heroic princes. The conſequent tranquillity which ſat in their countenances inſpired the whole army with confidence, and made them obey the orders that were iſſued out with the greateſt cheerfulneſs and alacrity. His majeſty * not doubting but that a battle would

* Though we have made uſe of the word majeſty and other modern appellations, yet that title was not given to the kings of England till many

would ſoon enſue, then ſurveyed the ground, and derived every poſſible advantage from it. He drew his forces upon a gentle aſcent near the village of Creſſy, and divided them into three bodies. The firſt he gave the command of to the Black Prince; but, leſt his ſon's youth and inexperience might render him unequal to ſo important a ſtation, he appointed the earl of Warwick and lord John Chandos to aſſiſt and direct him, ſhould their advice be neceſſary: the ſecond diviſion was led by the earls of Arundel and Northampton: and the king himſelf took the command of the third; which he drew up at ſome diſtance from the main body, intending with his corps to ſuccour the other battalions, or to ſecure a retreat, as he ſhould ſee needful. He likewiſe prudently threw up intrenchments on the flank of his little army, to defend it from the ſuperior numbers of the enemy; and placed all his carriages and baggage in the rear, incloſing them within a rampart.

This admirable diſpoſition being made, and the troops having taken their proper ſtations, he rode through the ranks, pointing out to them the inevitable deſtruction that awaited them, if they did not exert their utmoſt courage on this trying occaſion: he reminded them of the ſucceſs which had hitherto attended their arms, notwithſtanding they had been always greatly out-numbered by their foes; and aſſured them, that regularity and order would compenſate for the preſent diſadvantage in that reſpect: he then concluded his ſhort oration by telling them, that all he required from them was, that they would imitate his own example and that of his ſon, who would partake with them of every danger. The intrepidity which

many years after this period. The ſtyle of Grace was firſt given to them about the time of Henry the Fourth; to Henry the Sixth Excellent Grace; to Edward the Fourth High and Mighty Prince; to Henry the Seventh ſometimes Grace, ſometimes Highneſs; to Henry the Eighth firſt Highneſs, then Majeſty; and to all the Kings ſince Sacred or Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

ſtill appeared in his majeſty's face, and the compoſure with which he addreſſed them, warmed every heart, and made his troops think the hours tedious till the approach of their foes gave them an opportunity of proving by their actions what impreſſion his harangue had made on their minds. After a ſhort repaſt they laid themſelves on the graſs with their arms by their ſides, and in this poſture awaited the approach of their enemies.

The French army, which had paſſed the night at Abbeville, about four leagues diſtant, began their march at ſun-riſe in haſte and confuſion. Confident of ſucceſs, and preſuming on their numbers, they apprehended they were marching to certain victory; they conſequently would ſubmit to no regulation, but ruſhed on in the greateſt diſorder. Philip had diſpatched four noblemen to diſcover the poſture of the Engliſh; by them he was informed of their excellent diſpoſition, and adviſed to defer giving battle till the next day. The French king ſaw the propriety of this advice; he was ſenſible that the diſorderly and fatigued condition of his troops, tired with a long and impetuous march, rendered them not a match for their cool and intrepid foes; he therefore gave his commands for a general halt. But the raſhneſs and impetuoſity of the French nobility rendered it impracticable to put theſe orders in execution. One diviſion preſſing upon another, this immenſe body became ungovernable, and was hurried on without order, till they came within ſight of their adverſaries. A deadly paleneſs diffuſed itſelf over the countenance of Philip, when he firſt diſcerned the regularity and compoſure of the Engliſh; and he gave command to prepare for battle with unuſual trepidation.

He divided his army, as well as the general confuſion would admit, into three diviſions. The charge of the van he committed to his brother the count d'Alençon, to John of Luxemburgh king of Bohemia, and

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to Charles marquis of Moravia, ſon of the Bohemian king; accompanied by many nobles of diſtinguiſhed rank. The firſt line of this body conſiſted of fifteen thouſand Genoeſe, armed with croſs-bows, and led on by Antonio Doria and Carolo Grimaldi. The center the king commanded in perſon; James king of Majorca, prince Albert the elector Palatine, and Otho duke of Auſtria, ſerving under him. The rear was brought up by the earl of Savoy.

It was about three o'clock in the afternoon before this unwieldy body, amounting to upwards of one hundred and twenty thouſand men, more than four times the number of the Engliſh, could be ranged in order of battle. The Genoeſe were the firſt to begin the attack; but, whilſt they were preparing for the charge, a ſmart ſhower of rain, with loud claps of thunder, for a while withheld the contention: the air however ſoon cleared, and the ſun ſhone with redoubled power on the faces of the French. The Genoeſe had imprudently neglected to cover the ſtrings of their bows during the ſhower, ſo that they were in a manner uſeleſs; and they diſcharged their arrows without doing any execution. The Engliſh archers, who had not neglected this precaution, in their turn poured upon them a ſhower of well-aimed darts, which inſtantly put the Genoeſe into diſorder; ſo that, no longer able to keep their ranks, they retreated in confuſion on the French troops behind them. The count d'Alençon, finding himſelf thus incommoded, and enraged at their cowardice, ordered his men to clear their way through them with their ſwords; and at the ſame time ſpurred his horſe into the midſt of them. This fiery prince had offended theſe troops before the engagement, when they alledged how unfit they were for battle, after a long weariſome march loaded with armour: now, contrary to all policy, inſtead of ſtriving to rally them, he endeavoured to drive them from the field; where they might at leaſt have been of ſervice

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in receiving the firſt flights of the Engliſh arrows. From this imprudent conduct of the French general, the Genoeſe were not only miſerably trodden under foot and put to the ſword, but great numbers of his own troops being entangled with them, were expoſed to the arrows of the Engliſh archers, who took their aim at the ſpot where they perceived the tumult and confuſion was the greateſt.

At length, however, the count, with the braveſt of his men, having made their way through the broken Genoeſe, attacked with great fury the battalion at the head of which ſtood the prince of Wales. It was now that this young prince, for the firſt time, had an opportunity of proving that his valour was genuine, and that his nerves were well ſtrung. The count was received with ſo much ſteadineſs and reſolution, that the greateſt part of the forces which attended him were cut to pieces. The Black Prince had no ſooner repulſed this body, than three freſh ſquadrons, compoſed of the moſt reſolute French and German troops, forced their way through the archers, and came pouring in upon him. Theſe alſo he boldly withſtood; but the earls of Warwick and Oxford, apprehenſive for a life which, from its budding glory, promiſed to be ſo great an ornament to the Britiſh nation, diſpatched a meſſenger to the king to inform him of his ſon's danger, and to beg he would move to their aſſiſtance.

King Edward had taken his ſtation at the head of his corps de reſerve, which was drawn up on the ſummit of a hill, from whence he had a view of the field of battle. He had obſerved the French ſtandards drop apace, and was forming to himſelf pleaſing hopes of his ſon's ſucceſs, when the knight came to deſire aid; he therefore haſtily enquired whether the prince was dead, wounded, or felled to the ground: on his receiving an anſwer in the negative, the king replied, "Go back, and tell the lords who ſent you, that whilſt my ſon is alive they will require my aid in vain; for I

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am reſolved that the renown of this glorious day ſhall belong to him and thoſe brave knights who ſhare the danger with him. Let him therefore take pains to win his ſpurs, and to deſerve the honour of knighthood which I have ſo lately conferred upon him."

Before the return of the meſſenger, the prince had behaved ſo gallantly, and was ſo well ſeconded by his troops, that the lords were ſorry they had betrayed any apprehenſions: but no ſooner was the anſwer of his majeſty reported, than they all found their ſpirits exhilarated, and with one mind they determined to ſupport the expectations of their king, or die in the attempt. The forces which had attacked them with ſo much impetuoſity were conſequently repelled, and in a little time broken and defeated.

This ſucceſs encouraged the prince, who hitherto had acted on the defenſive, to advance; and being joined by the diviſion under the earls of Arundel and Northampton, the archers were ordered to fall into wings on each ſide. In this firm battalion they marched towards the French, who met them with a gallant reſolution; pleaſed with the thought that their deaths ſhould not be ſent them at a diſtance, but that now they might, hand to hand, contend for the victory: yet here alſo they found themſelves very unequal to the taſk.

The marquis of Moravia, ſon to the king of Bohemia, was the firſt who renewed the battle; but being wounded in three places, his ſtandard beaten to the ground, and his men ſlain in heaps around him, he with difficulty turned his horſe, and rode out of the field, having caſt away his armour that he might not be known.

The French king in perſon, with ſome ſelect troops, now made the laſt eſſay to turn the fortune of the day; but with ſuch ill ſucceſs, that he was obliged to quit the field with only ſixty perſons in his company: yet not before he had given convincing proof of his valour:

lour: he was wounded both in the neck and thigh, and had one horſe killed under him; he was diſmounted alſo from a ſecond, and had undoubtedly been ſlain or taken priſoner, if lord John of Hainault, his brother-in-law, had not a third time remounted him, and then, taking hold of his horſe's bridle, almoſt by force compelled him to leave the battle. The royal ſtandard of France was beaten to the ground, the ſtandard-bearer being killed in ſight of the king; and, whilſt both nations warmly contended for it, a French knight diſmounted from his horſe, ripped it from its ſhaft with his ſword, and, wrapping it in folds about his body, rode out of the field. From this time the French made little or no oppoſition; and night coming on, it gave an opportunity to more than half their army to eſcape: this they did in ſuch ſmall parties as plainly ſhewed that their defeat was deciſive and complete.

The prince of Wales, unwilling to hazard ſo glorious a victory by breaking his ranks, thought it not prudent to purſue them: he wiſely conſidered that the numbers which had eſcaped were ſtill ſuperior to his own forces; and that, being augmented by thoſe troops which were marching from different quarters with all expedition to join the French army before the battle, they might rally and return to the charge. The king his father approved of his conduct in this reſpect, and ordered his army to paſs the night on the field of battle.

It is almoſt incredible with how little loſs this memorable victory was obtained: neither the French or Engliſh hiſtorians take notice of more than three knights and one 'ſquire killed in the battle on the ſide of the Engliſh; and it is evident, from the hiſtory of the baronage of England, that not one of the nobility fell that day, though moſt of them, as appears from the ſame authority, accompanied the king in this expedition. On the part of the French their loſs was irreparable; not ſo much from the number of troops

ſlain, though at leaſt thirty thouſand lay dead on the field of battle, as from the great ſlaughter of their prime nobility and knights. There fell that day, beſides the kings of Bohemia and Majorca, the duke of Lorrain nephew to the French king, Humbert duke of Vienne, and Lewis earl of Flanders, all ſovereign princes. Charles count d'Alençon, king Philip's brother, the counts de Blois, Vaudemont, Harcourt, Aumale, St. Paul, and Sancerre, with many others of the French nobility; Grimaldi and Doria, the Genoeſe commanders, and nine German noblemen of diſtinction belonging to the king of Bohemia's retinue, were numbered among the ſlain. Theſe were accompanied in their deaths by twenty-four bannerets, twelve hundred knights, fifteen hundred men at arms, and four thouſand 'ſquires on horſeback.

The king of Bohemia, who ſhared in this cataſtrophe, was the ſon of Henry of Luxemburgh, late emperor of Germany; he was a ſoldier of great reputation and experience, but almoſt blind through age, and the loſs of one of his eyes in the Italian wars. Before the engagement, being told the poſition of the Engliſh army, he ſaid, though it was contrary to the confident opinion of the French, "Then I ſee they will either conquer or die." And, when he found that the former part of his prediction was nearly verified, with an unparallelled fortitude he called about him the chief commanders of his forces, and thus addreſſed them: "You have been my companions in many a bloody field, and have ever obeyed my commands with readineſs; receive therefore with the ſame reſpect my laſt injunction; bring me forward that I may deal among theſe Engliſhmen one good ſtroke of my ſword, and I ſhall die with ſatisfaction." Without heſitating they agreed to obey him, though death ſhould be the reſult of their obedience: and, that they might not by any extremity be ſeparated from each other, they faſtened their horſes bridles together; then, putting themſelves

ſelves in the firſt rank of their own troops, they courageouſly charged the prince of Wales; but, unable to withſtand the power of that young hero and his valiant aſſailants, they were all ſlain, and the next day found dead about the body of their king, with their horſes bridles tied together. Thus fell the noble and warlike king of Bohemia, leaving the honour of his death to adorn the blooming laurels of the young prince of Wales. His arms were three oſtrich feathers, with this motto, ICH DIEN, ſignifying, in the German language, I SERVE; and, his ſtandard being taken by the Black Prince, he afterwards uſed the ſame device, which has ever ſince been borne by the princes of Wales his ſucceſſors.

When night had put an end to the warlike atchievements of that ever-memorable day, the prince of Wales haſtened to the royal tent, and preſented himſelf before his father with all the humility of a truly heroic mind: king Edward, whoſe heart was ſuſceptible of every delicate paſſion, at the ſight of the victorious prince ſprung forward, and claſped him in his arms: a flood of tumultuous joy deprived him for a moment of the power of utterance; and he ſtood enrapt, with his eyes turned towards heaven in gratitude for the preſervation of ſo valuable a life. At length theſe unconnected ſentences broke from him, and ſpoke in ſome ſmall degree the emotions of his heart; "You are indeed my ſon---I glory in my boy---this day have you nobly acquitted yourſelf, and deſerve the crown for which we have fought---the honour of the day be yours---perſevere as you have begun, and be at once my comfort and my pride." Flattering as this encomium was from ſo good a judge of merit, it did not inſpire young Edward with the leaſt degree of vanity or arrogance; he bowed with a modeſt air, and contented himſelf with having contributed to his father's glory and the honour of his country.

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In this ſcene our hero eclipſed any of the celebrated heroes of Greece or Rome. Alexander wept when he entered the tent of Darius, and gained greater honour by this ebullition of humanity than from all his victories: Scipio reſtrained the tender emotions of his heart, and delivered back a fair captive to the arms of her diſtracted huſband, though at the expence of his happineſs: and the prince of Wales, with equal magnanimity, in all the pride of youth, yet warm with the blood of vanquiſhed foes, and elated with ſucceſs, humbly laid his laurels at his father's feet, and with an unaffected modeſty diſclaimed the praiſes of ſurrounding heroes.

The moderation of king Edward alſo, after this important victory, was equal to the conduct he had ſhewn in obtaining it: he commanded that none ſhould inſult the inhabitants, or boaſt of their ſucceſs; and by proclamation he granted a truce for three days, that the French belonging to the neighbouring towns might be at liberty to bury their dead countrymen. The bodies of the principal perſonages he cauſed to be conveyed in ſolemn pomp to Montreuil, where they were depoſited in the great abbey; the king himſelf and all his nobles attending the funerals. Ever ready to pay the reſpect due to merit, though in an enemy, he ordered all military honours to be paid to the memory of the old king of Bohemia, and ſent his body to the marquis his ſon, who interred it at Luxemburgh.

The morning after the battle, which was fought the 29th day of Auguſt 1346, the king ſent out parties in purſuit of the ſcattered enemy. A body of theſe under the command of the earls of Arundel, Northampton, and Suffolk, fell in with a conſiderable force commanded by the archbiſhop of Roan, and the grand prior of France; who, not having been informed of the defeat of their countrymen, were marching to join the grand army; but they ſoon ſhared the ſame

fate, both the leaders, with moſt of their men, being killed on the ſpot. The greateſt part alſo of thoſe who had fled from the battle of Creſſy, amounting nearly to the number ſlain in the fight, were deſtroyed next day by means of a ſtratagem: the morning proving miſty, king Edward ordered ſome of the ſtandards, which had been taken the day before, to be placed on eminences, which decoyed numbers of the ſtragglers, who immediately fell victims to their want of caution.

It is related by ſome hiſtorians, that the French king had determined to make an end of the war at once by the total deſtruction of the Engliſh, and for that purpoſe had brought into the field the great and hallowed banner of France called Oriflambe, believed in thoſe ſuperſtitious ages to have come down from heaven: as this had never been uſed before but againſt the infidels, and was always conſidered as a warrant for their extirpation, on this occaſion alſo it was ſuppoſed to grant the ſame ſanguinary licence. From this circumſtance king Edward's orders for giving no quarter are ſaid to have ariſen; but it is more probable that this ſevere charge proceeded from the great diſproportion between the numbers of the French and Engliſh: had the latter been allowed to break their ranks, and to make priſoners of thoſe that ſubmitted, it might have ſo encumbered them as to occaſion their own defeat; conſequently king Edward acted in this reſpect with all the precaution of a wiſe general, and thereby avoided the barbarity of putting men to the ſword in cool blood.

The king of France retired (as ſaid before) out of the battle by favour of the night, with not above ſixty perſons in his company, of whom only five were barons. Thus ſlightly attended, this unhappy monarch reluctantly left the field, and rode with great ſpeed till he came to the caſtle of Broye, about two leagues from Creſſy; on his demanding entrance, the governor aſked who it was that expected to be let in at ſo unſeaſonable

ſeaſonable an hour; the king replied, "Open your gates quickly, for I am the Fortune of France." His majeſty probably thought, in that diſtreſſing moment, how falſe a title his flatterers had graced him with, when they uſed to term him Le-bien-fortune, the Fortunate. Adverſity clears the mental ray from every deluſive charm, and reduces the moſt haughty mind to its proper ſtandard. The king was immediately admitted; but, not thinking himſelf ſecure ſo near his enemies, after he had taken ſome refreſhment he ſet out for Amiens. Having now leiſure to reflect on the cauſes of his ill ſucceſs, he blamed ſeveral of his knights, and was ſo highly incenſed at the lord Gondemar de Faye, for ſo badly defending the paſſage over the Somme, that, had he been near, it would have coſt him his head: but lord Beaumont, to ſoften the king's diſpleaſure, with great reaſon obſerved, that if his majeſty himſelf, with a much ſuperior army of choſen troops, was not able to withſtand the puiſſance of the king of England, how was it to be expected that Gondemar, with his ſmall force, ſhould prevail againſt him? This pertinent obſervation pacified the king, and ſaved Gondemar from any further cenſure.

From this time, impreſſed with all the horrors of their ſituation, the French began to call the young prince of Wales, to whoſe ſkill and courage they principally attributed their diſgrace, *Le Noir*, the Black Prince; and ſo familiar did this title become, that in a record made in the early part of the reign of Richard the Second, his ſon, he is ſo ſtyled; and was ever after ſo called in common converſation.

King Edward now marched with his victorious army towards Calais, which he intended to beſiege: he knew that this important fortreſs was impregnable, but, being freed by the late deciſive engagement from any interruption, he determined to reduce it by famine; to this purpoſe he choſe a ſecure ſtation for his camp, and drew intrenchments round the whole town.

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Whilſt he patiently waited in this ſituation the ſurrender of the garriſon, he ſent the prince of Wales into England to raiſe ſupplies: this young prince was not only qualified for the hardy encounters of war, but his good ſenſe and penetration enabled him, even at this early age, to ſhine in the equally arduous tranſactions of the cabinet. His uncommon valour and amiable accompliſhments rendered him ſo beloved by the Engliſh, that they granted him with cheerfulneſs the ſupplies he required, and ſubmitted with readineſs to his prudent regulations for their domeſtic quiet during the abſence of his father.

At this period the Britiſh name was raiſed to a pitch of eminence never known before; beſides the unexampled atchievements of the king and prince, queen Philippa, willing to ſhew that ſhe was not unworthy her alliance with ſo warlike a family, endeavoured to rival them in noble deeds. The Scots, taking advantage of the king's abſence, had entered England at the head of fifty thouſand men, and carried their ravages and devaſtations to the gates of Durham: but the queen aſſembling an army of about twelve thouſand men, which ſhe entruſted to the command of lord Percy, marched to oppoſe them: ſhe found them encamped at Neville's Croſs, near that city, and immediately gave orders that they ſhould be attacked. When the armies were drawn up, and ready for the engagement, this heroic lady rode through the ranks, exhorting her troops to do their duty, and to ſtrive to emulate the noble deeds of their countrymen at Creſſy: nor could ſhe be perſuaded to leave the field till they were on the point of engaging. Her intrepidity ſo animated the Engliſh, that their enemies were unable to withſtand their impetuous attacks; they were conſequently ſoon routed, and chaced off the field with the loſs of ten thouſand men. Never did the Scots receive a more fatal blow; for beſides the numbers ſlain, among whom were many of conſiderable rank,

the king of Scotland himself was taken prisoner, with most of his surviving nobility.

The victorious queen having, on her return to London, secured her royal prisoner in the Tower, crossed the sea at Dover, attended by her son, who had now executed the commission his father had entrusted him with. She was received in the English camp before Calais with all the triumph due to her rank, her merit, and her success. In those ages gallantry was interwoven with bravery in the hearts of our great ancestors; and many successive days were now devoted to tournaments and feasts, to celebrate the glorious deeds of this royal heroine.

The town of Calais was still defended with remarkable constancy by the garrison and inhabitants; and, notwithstanding the siege had continued to an unusual length, there seemed no probability of king Edward's withdrawing his troops. The French king therefore determined at last to attempt their relief: he accordingly drew together an immense army, amounting to near two hundred thousand men; but found the English monarch so surrounded by morasses, and secured by entrenchments, that he concluded it impossible to force his camp: Philip was therefore obliged to retire, and to disperse his troops in their several provinces, without completing his purpose.

John de Vienne, governor of Calais, now saw the necessity of surrendering the fortress, which was reduced to the last extremity by famine and the fatigue of the inhabitants. He appeared upon the walls, and made a signal to the English centinels, that he desired a conference. Sir Walter Manny was sent to him by king Edward, to whom the governor thus addressed himself: "Brave knight, the defence of this town has been entrusted to me by my sovereign; and you are witnesses with what fidelity I have discharged the trust reposed in me. It is almost a year since you besieged me; during which time I have endeavoured to do my duty.

duty. As we are now periſhing with hunger, I am willing to ſurrender, on condition that the lives and liberties of thoſe who bravely aſſiſted me are preſerved." Sir Walter replied, "That as he was well acquainted with the king of England's intentions, he could not give him any hopes that his requeſt would be granted: he aſſured him that his maſter was greatly exaſperated againſt the townſmen of Calais for their obſtinate reſiſtance, through which he had loſt a great number of valuable ſubjects, and therefore he was determined to take exemplary vengeance on them; nor would he receive the town under any reſtrictions to his anger." "Conſider," returned Vienne, "that brave men are entitled to better treatment. Can your king condemn in us that fidelity and courage which he would expect from his own ſubjects in the ſame ſituation? Can ſo gallant a prince as Edward wiſh to treat with ſeverity the inhabitants of Calais, for a conduct, which, in the eyes of the unprejudiced, merits immortal honour? far be it from him; but, if his determination is unalterable, let him know that we will not periſh unrevenged: that fortitude, which has hitherto ſupported us through ſo many difficulties, will enable us to deſpiſe death, or any puniſhment he is able to inflict: we wiſh not however for theſe extremities, and recommend ourſelves, courteous knight, to your interceſſion in our behalf."

Sir Walter, ſtruck with the juſtice of theſe ſentiments, and the noble manner in which they were delivered, repreſented to the king, on his return, the loſs that muſt unavoidably ariſe from driving ſuch determined perſons to deſperation. His arguments prevailed, and Edward was at laſt perſuaded to mitigate the rigour of his demands: he only inſiſted, that ſix of the moſt conſiderable citizens ſhould be ſent to him, to be diſpoſed of as he thought proper: that they ſhould come to his camp bare-footed, and with uncovered heads, having ropes about their necks, and carrying

rying the keys of the city in their hands: on these conditions he promised to spare the lives of all the rest.

This determination afforded an opportunity for an exertion of the truest heroism that ever graced any age or nation. When the inhabitants of Calais were informed of this rigorous exaction, their consternation was inexpressible: though each had bravely ventured his life, and borne all the inconveniences of hunger and fatigue when it was the common lot, when supported by example, and urged by emulation, yet, where could be found a few so truly patriotic as to soar above their fellow-citizens, and to sacrifice their lives for the public benefit? A solemn silence spoke for a few moments the weakness of human nature, and the force of that innate principle, the love of life. At length one of the chief burghers, Eustace de St. Pierre, whose name the historian has recorded, and whose public spirit Fame will perpetuate to latest ages, stepped forth, and declared himself willing to encounter death for the safety of his companions. The sacred flame in an instant spread from breast to breast, and the number required voluntarily offered themselves. No sooner were the victims selected and prepared for the sacrifice, than they were led to the English monarch's tent.

Recollection of the many brave subjects he had lost from the dangers of the sea, and the change of seasons to which they had been exposed during so long a siege, rendered Edward's heart insensible to the voice of humanity, and he ordered them to be led away to immediate execution. In vain did the prince of Wales, in whose breast mercy sat enthroned with valour, entreat his father to spare his emaciated prisoners, whose prowess was no longer to be dreaded, and whose virtues deserved a gentler fate. Edward continued inexorable, and put a stop to his son's solicitations by reminding him, that in the determinations of a mo-

narch, when a public example is required, mercy muſt ſometimes give place to juſtice. The prince reluctantly yielded to his father's deciſion, and drew back in ſilence, whilſt the tear of tender ſenſibility trickled down his cheek.

The king now repeated his nod of condemnation, and the officers were on the point of leading the virtuous ſufferers to a concluſion of their woes, when the queen, who ſat in breathleſs expectation, threw herſelf on her knees before the king: with a mother's fondneſs ſhe wiſhed to yield the merit of their preſervation to her ſon, and had only aided his petition by diffuſing a ſupplicating tenderneſs over her lovely countenance; but no ſooner did ſhe perceive that his intreaties were unavailing, than in an inſtant ſhe was proſtrate before her huſband, beſeeching him, in the moſt pathetic terms, to moderate his rigorous ſentence: "It is the firſt requeſt I have made to my lord," ſhe cried, "ſince I braved the dangers of war for his glory, and the perils of the ſea to ſhew him my duty and love: let me not therefore be denied." Edward, unable to withſtand the fair petitioner, raiſed her inſtantly from the ground, and conſigned his priſoners to her diſpoſal. A murmur of applauſe, which even the preſence of royalty could not reſtrain, broke from the ſurrounding peers, and proclaimed the triumph of humanity.

The Britiſh nation has ever been famed for exerciſing a generous pity towards their vanquiſhed enemies, whenever ſelf-preſervation did not forbid. Even the preſent inflexibility of king Edward was in ſome degree warranted by the obſtinacy of his opponents: happy however was it for him, that he ſuffered his natural tenderneſs to be arouſed by the intreaties of his queen, or this act of ſeverity would have blaſted his fame, and would have weighed down in the ſcale of juſtice every heroic deed he could have placed againſt it.

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The queen's humane interference in behalf of the deſerving citizens did not end here: ſhe ordered them to be carried to her tent, to which in a ſhort time ſhe retired, attended by the prince of Wales; there ſhe cauſed a repaſt to be ſet before her famiſhed gueſts, and, preſenting them with money and clothes, diſmiſſed them in ſafety. In return for this generous conduct ſhe received the grateful offerings of their hearts, and the applauſe of admiring nations, the moſt pleaſing tribute to a truly noble mind.

Immediately after king Edward had taken poſſeſſion of Calais, his ſon the prince of Wales penetrated with a ſtrong detachment of the Britiſh army upwards of thirty leagues into the kingdom of France; and, having ravaged the country round about unoppoſed, he retired again to his father loaden with booty.

Whilſt the king remained at Calais, a league was concluded, through the interceſſion of the pope's legates, between the contending nations, which continued with various prolongations for ſome years. As ſoon as this was ſettled, king Edward returned with his family to England; but meeting with a dreadful tempeſt, in which ſeveral of the ſhips that eſcorted him were loſt, he could not help remarking, that in his paſſage to France the wind and ſeas always befriended him; whereas on his return he met with adverſe ſtorms and deſtructive tempeſts. This obſervation probably cheriſhed his hopes of ſome time or other being able to get poſſeſſion of that kingdom to which the winds ſo readily wafted him; an event which ſeems to have been his favourite wiſh, as ſome authors tell us that he refuſed to accept of the dignity of Emperor of Germany, which happening about this time to be vacant, he was ſolicited by the electors to receive, that it might not impede his deſigns on France.

The Engliſh received their victorious monarch and his valiant ſon with the loudeſt acclamations; and they

entered the city of London in triumph. The queen alſo ſhared in the honour of the day; nor was her victory over the Scots, or her humane interpoſition in favour of the citizens of Calais, forgotten.

During this peaceful period the Engliſh barons and nobles, who could not remain inactive, took great delight in jouſts and tournaments, the paſtimes of the age: Edward the black prince, who was held in high reſpect for his worth and valour, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the exerciſe of theſe knightly ſports: but it was not long before he was again called into action by the French, who were on the point of regaining poſſeſſion of Calais by treachery.

On the ſurrender of that town, king Edward gave the government of it to Sir Emeric de Pavia, an Italian, who had diſcovered great bravery and conduct in the wars, but who was devoid of every principle of honour and fidelity. The lord Geoffrey Charni, who commanded the French forces on the frontiers, found means to corrupt the governor; and agreed with him to deliver up the town for twenty thouſand crowns of gold. This was betrayed to Edward by one of the ſecretaries of Sir Emeric, who retained his allegiance. The king ſoon after ſummonded the Italian to London on other pretences; and he, judging it impoſſible that a treaſon tranſacted ſo privately ſhould be diſcovered, obeyed the ſummons with great readineſs: but what was his ſurpriſe when he found his royal maſter acquainted with his guilt! The politic king, however, ſeeing the uſe which might be made of this diſcovery, as the terms of the agreement were not yet executed, aſſured the governor of his forgiveneſs, on condition that he would turn the perfidious contract to the deſtruction of his enemies. Sir Emeric, glad to have eſcaped the puniſhment due to his diſloyalty, promiſed his maſter that he would enter with readineſs into his ſcheme, and purſue with punctuality any plan he ſhould lay down. The king only inſiſted that he

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ſhould inform him as ſoon as the day was fixed, and then diſmiſſed him.

The laſt night in December being agreed on between lord Geoffrey and the governor for the delivery of the town, the latter punctually ſent notice to the king, who was then keeping his Chriſtmas at Haververing in Eſſex: without interrupting the feſtivity of his court, he marched privately to Dover, with a ſelect body of men whom he had kept near him for that purpoſe, and arrived on the appointed evening at Calais. This was done with ſo much diſpatch and ſecreſy, that only a few of his principal officers knew that he himſelf was arrived. Having diſpoſed of his men in different parts of the town, he appointed Sir Walter Manny to the command of the enterprize, telling him, that he would grace him with the honour of it, as both himſelf and the Black Prince intended to fight under his banner.

The lord Geoffrey Charni, having furniſhed himſelf with a choſen body of troops, approached Calais about midnight: he immediately drew up his men near the walls, and ſent two 'ſquires to the gate appointed, to know if Sir Emeric was ready: finding that he was there, expecting the completion of the agreement, lord Charni diſpatched twelve knights with two hundred men to take poſſeſſion of the caſtle, and at the ſame time to deliver the gold to the governor: but they had ſcarcely entered the gates, when they were ſurrounded and made priſoners. Sir Walter and his forces, among whom were the king and the prince of Wales, diſguiſed in plain armour, now ruſhed out with ſhouts of victory. The French, finding themſelves betrayed, were at firſt in ſome confuſion; but they ſoon recovered from their aſtoniſhment, and a fierce and bloody engagement enſued.

As the morning twilight came on, the king remarked a French knight, named Sir Euſtace de Ribemont, who exerted himſelf with ſingular vigour and bravery:

bravery: as no man more admired valour, or poſſeſſed a greater ſhare of it than himſelf, he was inflamed with a deſire of trying a ſingle combat with him; he therefore ſtepped forth from the battalion in which he fought, and, challenging him by name, began a ſharp encounter: the conteſt was long and obſtinate, and the Engliſh monarch found in the French knight a combatant worthy his puiſſant arm. Twice was he beaten to the ground, and each time inſtantly recovering himſelf, like Antæus, he preſſed on his foe with redoubled vigour; till Sir Euſtace, finding himſelf almoſt left alone, cried out, "Brave knight, I yield to your ſuperior proweſs; nor bluſh to be overcome by ſtrength like yours." He then gave up his ſword to his unknown antagoniſt, and became his priſoner.

By this time the defeat was general, and of the whole French army few eſcaped either death or captivity. The prince of Wales fell not ſhort of his royal father in the valorous tranſaction of that day. Lord Geoffrey Charni, being previouſly wounded, was taken priſoner with ſeveral other noblemen.

After this victory, which was happily completed on the firſt of January 1349, by ten in the morning, king Edward returned with his priſoners to Calais, where he treated them with great courteſy, and invited them to a magnificent entertainment. On the reſumption of his ſtate, the French firſt knew that the Britiſh king had been perſonally in this exploit; and Sir Euſtace de Ribemont diſcovered, with pleaſure, to what a noble antagoniſt he had delivered up his ſword.

When the banquet was prepared, the king ſat at a table by himſelf, Edward the black prince, his ſon, with the lords and knights of England, attending at the firſt courſe; at the ſecond they all ſat down at tables placed on each ſide of the hall: the French knights were ſeated at one long table in the middle of it; and, the viands being removed, the king aroſe,

and graciouſly entered into converſation with them. As he approached lord Geoffrey Charni, he looked at him, for a moment, with ſome diſpleaſure; but that magnanimity, for which king Edward was famed, ſoon reſumed its empire in his heart, and he addreſſed him with complacence and familiarity. Lord Geoffrey, though ſenſible of the king's condeſcenſion, was unable, from his wounds, and a conſciouſneſs of his intended treachery, to return any anſwer.

He then moved towards Sir Euſtace de Ribemont, and, with a friendly countenance, thus ſpoke his approbation of the noble ſtand he had made againſt him in the field: "Of all men living, Sir Euſtace, you are the knight whom I have found moſt, as well in offending your enemies, as in defending yourſelf; and I never, in my life, met with that man that gave me ſo much ado, body to body, as you have done this day: wherefore I adjudge the prize of knigthood unto you, by right ſentence, above all the knights of my court*." He then took off a chaplet of pearls from his head, and, preſenting it to his priſoner, thus continued to addreſs him: "I give you, Sir Euſtace, this chaplet, for the beſt doer in arms at this laſt battle of either party, whether French or Engliſh; and I deſire you to wear it this year at feſtivals for my ſake. You are a perſonable gentleman, young and amorous, and well accepted among the ladies; wherefore if you will wear it in all public balls, and declare unto them, that the king of England gave this as a teſtimony of your valour, I will now releaſe you, quitting you wholly of your ranſom." Sir Euſtace expreſſed his gratitude for this honourable acknow-

* This ſpeech is given in the language of the times, as it conveys an idea of the rough and unlettered manners of that age. The intrepid and generous deeds of thoſe unpoliſhed Sons of War wanted not the aid of rhetoric to point out their merit, or to blazon them to the world. Even the language of Love was then ſimple and unadorned; it was the language of the heart, nor needed any fallacious explanations to enſure belief, or to render it perſuaſive.

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ledgment; and not only wore the chaplet whilſt he lived, but, in memory of this royal gift from ſo renowned a prince, his family ever after bore for their arms three chaplets garniſhed with pearls.

This treacherry of the French, attempted whilſt yet the truce exiſted, juſtly rebounded on their own heads. But the king of France was ſo enraged at the diſappointment, that, having betrayed Sir Emeric de Pavia into his hands, he put him to death with every mark of infamy: he was firſt degraded of knighthood; then branded with a hot iron; his tongue cut out as a puniſhment for his perfidy; and, after being hanged, he was beheaded and quartered as a traitor. The Engliſh monarch ſought not to revenge either this freſh breach of the truce, or his ſubject's death; only, from the day that he reſcued Calais, he gave the command of it to lord John Beauchamp. So certain is it, that the perfidious never regain the confidence of thoſe they have betrayed.

About this time king Edward, whoſe mind was always intent on the attainment of honour, inſtituted the order of the Garter, in imitation of ſome orders of a like nature which had been eſtabliſhed in different kingdoms: theſe were of two ſorts, religious or military; the principal among the former were the knights of the Holy Sepulchre, the knights Hoſpitallers, the knights Templars, and the Teutonic knights: orders inſtituted during the croiſades.

King Edward, to whom the heroic virtues and military ſpirit of Arthur ſeems to have deſcended, being engaged in continual wars with France, formed the deſign of reſtoring king Arthur's round table; he accordingly, in the year 1344, and the eighteenth of his reign, iſſued out orders for the ſafe conduct of foreign knights, to try their ſkill at ſolemn jouſts to be held near Windſor. At the time appointed, great numbers of accompliſhed cavaliers came to his court, whom the king entertained with great hoſpitality,

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and endeavoured to attach to his intereſt by every act of courteſy; but perceiving that after their departure, being unconſtrained and at liberty, ſome of them entered into the ſervice of his adverſary in the enſuing wars, he reſolved to project ſome means to ſecure thoſe whom he thought fit to make his aſſociates by more ſelect and laſting bonds. To this purpoſe he inſtituted the order of the Garter with great pomp and ſolemnity; and, if we conſider its antiquity, and the dignity of the perſonages who have been enrolled therein, it greatly excels every other honorary inſtitution.

From whence it derives its denomination of the Garter is at this time uncertain: the vulgar and general opinion is, that the counteſs of Saliſbury dropping accidentally her garter as ſhe danced at a ball, king Edward, ſtooping, took it from the ground; whereupon, ſeeing ſome of his nobles ſmile, he turned it off with this reply in French, "*Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe*---Shame be to him that evil thinks of it:" but, in retort for their laughter, he farther added, "That ſhortly they ſhould ſee that garter advanced to ſo high an honour, as to account themſelves happy in wearing it."

The joy and triumph which reigned in the court of England on account of this inſtitution, which concluded with military ſports and tournaments, was ſuddenly changed into ſorrow and mourning by a terrible and deſtructive peſtilence, which invaded that kingdom as well as the reſt of Europe, and is ſuppoſed to have carried off about one-fourth of the inhabitants in every country where it prevailed. In the firſt ſix months of this year, fifty-ſeven thouſand perſons are ſaid to have died of it in London and Norwich; the church-yards were not found ſufficient for the burial of the dead. This dreadful diſtemper ſpread into Wales and Ireland, and proved chiefly fatal to the common people; none of the better ſort died of the in-

faction, except three or four of the nobility, and Jane, king Edward's second daughter, who was seized with it at Bourdeaux in her way to Castile, where she was to have been married to the infant Don Pedro, son of Alphonso, sovereign of that kingdom. When the contagion among the human species abated, the sheep and cattle perished in vast numbers; and no bird or beast of prey would touch their carcasses, so that they lay putrefying on the surface of the ground, and by their intolerable stench contributed to increase the pernicious quality of the air. The corn was lost for want of hands to reap and gather it; and hence ensued a dreadful dearth of all kinds of provisions. The Scots, tempted by the prospect of an easy prey in this season of death and desolation, made an irruption into the northern counties, and, together with a large booty, carried back the contagion into their own country, where it raged with uncommon violence: a just reward for so flagrant a breach of the laws of prudence and humanity. This dreadful calamity, rather than the pacific dispositions of the contending princes, served to maintain and prolong the truce between France and England.

In the beginning of the following summer, some variance happening between the fleets of England and Spain, the Spaniards, secretly encouraged by the French, infested the British seas with fifty large ships of war; taking and destroying a great number of vessels. King Edward enraged at these dishonourable proceedings, (for the nations were not at war with each other,) fitted out a considerable fleet to oppose them; taking with him his son the prince of Wales, now in his twentieth year, with many noblemen of distinction, he came up with these plunderers off Rye in Sussex, when a fierce engagement immediately began. The Spaniards, in their huge carracks, overlooking the English vessels, poured down upon them storm of cross-bow shot, stones, and bars of iron; but,

but, the archers of England ſoon clearing the decks, they boarded them with their ſwords and battle-axes in their hands, and, before the evening put an end to the fight, made themſelves maſters of ſeventeen: the next morning the Engliſh wiſhed to renew the engagement, but they found that the greateſt part of their enemy's ſhips had eſcaped by favour of the night, leaving thoſe that were diſabled to their mercy. Having thus cleared the ſeas of ſuch troubleſome interlopers, the king returned in triumph laden with ſpoil.

Soon after the king and prince's return, a very remarkable combat was tried before them: a diſpute having ariſen between John de Veſconti, a nobleman nearly allied to the king of Cyprus, and Thomas de la Marche, natural brother to the king of France, it was agreed to refer their cauſe to king Edward, as he was allowed to be the moſt heroic prince, and the beſt judge in every point of honour of any potentate in Chriſtendom. Theſe two knights, fighting under the banners of Conſtantine king of Armenia, and Hugh king of Cyprus, Chriſtian princes, at that time engaged in a war againſt the infidels, a quarrel aroſe between them, in which de Veſconti charged de la Marche with taking a ſum of gold to betray the Chriſtian army into the hands of their enemies. The princes under whom they ſerved not chooſing to determine their diſpute, as there were no other proofs than their ſingle aſſeverations, they agreed to ſtand by the award of the Engliſh monarch; accordingly the two knights arrived in England the beginning of September, when the former openly, before the king and his court, repeated his accuſations againſt the latter, challenging him to diſprove it on his body: he then threw down his gauntlet; which Sir Thomas as boldly took up, and accepted the challenge in proof of his innocence.

King Edward appointed the fourteenth day of October for the deciſion of their quarrel, in cloſe field

within the lists, at his palace of Westminster: on that day the combatants came on horseback, armed at all points, the king, the prince of Wales, and the whole court of England, being spectators. On sound of trumpet the combat began; but at the first tilt both their spears breaking on each other's shield, without either of them being moved from their saddles, they both alighted at the same instant, and renewed the fight on foot; for a considerable time they fought with equal valour and conduct, till, both their weapons being rendered useless, they came to close grapple, and fell together locked in each others gripe: the visors of both their helmets were defended with small distant bars of steel, through which they might see and breathe more freely, and all the rest of their bodies covered with armour: from this circumstance the advantage turned in favour of Sir Thomas de la Marche; for that knight having sharp pieces of steel, called gadlings, inclosed in the joints of his right gauntlet, he therewith struck at the visor of his adversary, and grievously wounded him through the crevices: Sir John de Vesconti, being unprovided with the same weapon of offence, cried out aloud, that he could no longer defend himself; whereat the king threw down his warder, which put an end to the combat.

King Edward then adjudged the victory to the Frenchman, and the vanquished to be at his mercy according to the law of arms. Sir Thomas, satisfied with so plain and honourable a proof of his innocence (as this was then esteemed), forbore to use his power over his enemy, but made a present of him to Edward the black prince, to be at his discretion: after which, in testimony of his gratitude, he dedicated his own suit of armour to St. George the patron of England, with great pomp and devotion, in the cathedral church of St. Paul in London. The generous prince of Wales gave Sir John de Vesconti his full liberty, for the sake of the king of Cyprus, whom he respected for his valour;

lour; and, after treating him with great courtesy, suffered him to return home at his leisure.

In this year Philip de Valois the French king died, without being able to re-establish the affairs of France, leaving behind him the character of a cruel and perfidious prince: his treatment of John count de Mountfort establishes the justice of this imputation. It had been stipulated at the conclusion of the last truce, that the count should be released from prison on his giving security that he would conform to the terms of the truce; yet, notwithstanding sufficient security was offered, and a formal decree passed in the parliament of Paris for his enlargement, Philip refused to set him free. Avarice and ambition seem to have had a share in this determination, as it is well known that he refused to release his prisoner, unless he would deliver up Brest and Hennebon to him, and renounce all claim to the duchy of Brittany. But of all the claims of this faithless and perjured monarch, none stained his character with a more indelible mark of infamy, and rendered him more the object of universal hatred and detestation, than his treatment of Oliver de Clisson, who had served him and Charles de Blois with great zeal and ability. Oliver had been taken at the siege of Namur, and being given up by king Edward in exchange for lord Stafford, in preference to another knight whom Philip would rather have chosen, that king, naturally suspicious, imagined he had entered into some private agreement with Edward: actuated by this suspicion, he ordered him to be seized and thrown into prison; soon after his arrest, this unfortunate nobleman was beheaded at Paris without form or trial, his body hung on a gibbet, and his estate confiscated. The Bretons were so highly incensed at this cruel and tyrannical proceedings that the inhabitants of Vannes expelled the garrison, and declared in favour of the count de Mountfort. These circumstances, instead of opening the eyes of Philip to a sense

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of his own crimes, ſerved only to ſtrengthen his ſuſpicions; and, as he knew no other way of keeping people in their duty but by force and terror, he immediately gave orders for apprehending ten other noblemen of Brittany, who, though they had all diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of Charles de Blois, were put to death in the ſame ignominious manner that had been practiſed on Oliver de Cliſſon. His treachery was no leſs conſpicuous in another inſtance; for having ſet up a round table in oppoſition to that of king Edward, and iſſued ſafe-conducts for the protection of all ſtrangers, he ſeized ſeveral lords of the count de Montfort's party, and put them to death, contrary to the rules of chivalry and of honour.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon John, a prince unlike his father, diſtinguiſhed by many virtues, particularly by a ſcrupulous honour and fidelity: he was not deficient in perſonal courage, but he wanted that prudence and foreſight which the perplexed ſituation of his kingdom, at that time convulſed by inteſtine commotions, and oppreſſed by foreign wars, required. Charles king of Navarre, who received and deſerved the epithet of Wicked, was continually fomenting diviſions among the king of France's ſubjects, and giving him perpetual diſquietude, although allied to him by blood and marriage.

No ſooner therefore was the truce between England and France expired, than king Edward took advantage of his competitor's embarraſſment, and prepared to renew once more his claims on that crown: to this purpoſe he propoſed to attack his enemy both on the ſide of Guienne with an army commanded by the prince of Wales, and on the northern parts in his own perſon. In proſecution of this plan, Edward the black prince ſailed for Bourdeaux, on board a fleet of three hundred ſail, attended by the earls of Warwick, Saliſbury, Oxford, Suffolk, and other Engliſh noblemen. Immediately after his arrival, being joined by the vaſſals

vaſſals of Gaſcoigné, he took the field; reduced without interruption many towns in the neighbouring provinces, and ravaged the whole country: after an incurſion of ſix weeks, he returned with a vaſt booty and many priſoners to Guienne, where he took up his winter quarters. King Edward's invaſion from Calais was of the ſame nature, and attended with the ſame iſſue.

In the enſuing ſummer the prince of Wales, encouraged by the ſucceſs of the preceding campaign, took the field with an army of twelve thouſand men, of which not more than four thouſand were Engliſh. All hiſtorians agree that this was the utmoſt amount of the forces with which he performed ſuch wondrous deeds, and gained immortal honour. With this ſmall body of troops the prince ventured to penetrate again into the heart of France; his deſign was to join his brother John of Gaunt, to whom king Edward had given the command of an army in Normandy; but, finding all the bridges on the Loire broken down, and king John advancing towards him with a moſt formidable force, he thought it prudent to retire again into his father's dominions without perſiſting in his attempt.

The prince loſing ſome days before the caſtle of Remorentin, it gave the French army, which was nearer than he had expected, an opportunity of overtaking him. The following unexpected incident occaſioned this hindrance, and was the means of bringing on a battle near Poictiers: part of his van-guard falling in with a detachment of the garriſon of Remorentin, as they marched near it, they ſoon defeated them, and, in the purſuit, entering the town with the flying enemy, took poſſeſſion of it: the prince, tempted from this accident to make himſelf maſter alſo of the caſtle, ordered it to be aſſaulted; the attack continued all that day without ſucceſs, and the next morning it was briſkly renewed, the prince himſelf being perſonally preſent and encouraging his men; but an Engliſh

liſh knight, for whom he had a great a regard, being ſlain as he ſtood near him, he ſwore by his father's ſoul (his moſt ſolemn oath) not to leave the ſiege till he was in poſſeſſion of the caſtle, and had the defenders of it at his mercy: on this the aſſault was renewed with redoubled vigour; but, there appearing no probability of reducing it by the ordinary methods, the prince ordered engines to be raiſed, with which he threw combuſtibles into it and ſet it on fire: the garriſon, finding the caſtle no longer tenable, yielded themſelves to him, and were carried off among the other priſoners.

After the taking of Remorentin, the prince continued his march; but this delay gave the French king time to overtake him near Poictiers. King John was accompanied by his four ſons, Charles the dauphin duke of Normandy, Lewis duke of Anjou, John duke of Berry, and Philip afterwards duke of Burgundy, who, for bravely endeavouring to defend his father in the enſuing battle, was ſurnamed the Hardy; beſides whom he was attended by twenty-ſix dukes and counts, three thouſand knights, and an army of ſixty thouſand men. With this hoſt, as it might juſtly be termed when compared with the handful of Engliſh forces, the French king doubted of not being able to extirpate his enemies; he therefore marched after them with the utmoſt expedition, aſſured of ſucceſs.

The firſt intelligence the Black Prince received of his near approach was from ſome priſoners taken by one of his detached parties; by theſe he underſtood the force of his enemy, and that it was hardly poſſible for him to eſcape: on which he called in all his detachments, and encamped on the fields of Maupertuis near Poictiers; he then ſent out two hundred men at arms, well mounted, under the command of the Captal de Buſche, to reconnoitre the French, who found king John entering with his army into Poic-

tiers: this undaunted party rode so near that they had a full view of the main body of the French; and, not content with seeing them, they attacked their rear with such fury, that the king caused a considerable part of his army to face about, and march again into the field; by which means it was very late before they re-entered the city. The English detachment, returning unbroken to the prince, informed him of their adventure; and, at the same time, though fear increased not the numbers, described their enemies as exceedingly numerous. "Well then," said the prince with great composure, "let us consider how we may fight them to the best advantage, for against number policy is requisite;" and, agreeable to this maxim, he took every precaution during the night to fortify his camp.

The next morning the king of France drew out his army in battle-array; he gave the command of the van to his brother Philip duke of Orleans, the center to his son the dauphin, who had his two younger brothers under him, and led the rear himself, attended by his youngest son: when his troops were formed, he came to the front of the line mounted on a large white courser; he told them, that, as whilst they were at a distance from the English, and in a place of safety, they were continually boasting of their prowess, and wishing to be in arms against them, he had now brought them to the station they had so often desired, and expected they would give him proofs that their eagerness was not mere bravado.

He then ordered them to march; but at that instant the cardinal de Talarande, who had been sent by the pope to be a mediator between the contending nations, interposed his good offices, and intreated the king that he would halt a moment, whilst he hastened to the prince of Wales, and endeavoured to prevent the spilling of so much blood. To this the French monarch consented, on condition that he would quickly return; which the cardinal promised to do, and then

haſtened to the Engliſh prince, whom he found armed at the head of his men: the cardinal repreſented to him the danger of his ſituation from the great ſuperiority of his enemies, and urged him to liſten to propoſals rather than await certain deſtruction. The prince, ſenſible that the apprehenſions of the eccleſiaſtic were well founded, but, at the ſame time, undaunted and reſolute, anſwered, that he was ready to accept of any conditions that were not inconſiſtent with his own honour and that of his country. His excellency returned with this compliant anſwer to the French king, and with many arguments prevailed on him to defer the attack till the next day. The cardinal, as well as all the prelates of the court of Rome, was extremely attached to the French intereſt; yet the moſt determined enemy could not have contrived a greater prejudice to their cauſe than by this delay, as the prince during the night had time to ſtrengthen the poſt he had before judiciouſly choſen.

The negotiation, however, proved fruitleſs; for though the prince offered to relinquiſh all the conqueſts he had made, to releaſe without ranſom all the priſoners he had taken, and alſo to ſwear that he would not bear arms in perſon againſt the French for ſeven years, yet the king inſiſted that he ſhould ſurrender himſelf a priſoner, with a hundred of his principal knights; on theſe conditions only would he ſuſpend his vengeance, and allow the reſt of the Engliſh forces to retire unmoleſted. To theſe diſhonourable propoſals young Edward replied, with an air of indignation, "That, whatever was his fate, he could not ſo far forget the reſpect that was due to his father's dignity and his own honour, as to ſave his life on inglorious terms; nor could he ever conſent that England ſhould be obliged to pay a ranſom for him." He therefore rejected them as worſe than death. The prince delivered this determinate anſwer to the cardinal with all fire of an exalted mind; whilſt his troops, by their cheerful

cheerful looks, expreſſed their approbation, and promiſed him ſupport.

Soon after the prelate's departure, a battle appearing unavoidable, ſurrounded by his general officers the prince thus harangued his army: "I have too often, my friends, had experience of your courage, to doubt it at this time; frequently have I beheld you, inſpired by the ſpirit of your great anceſtors, perform ſuch deeds as prove you are not in the leaſt degenerated from them; no labour has ever yet appeared to be painful to you, no fortreſs impregnable, no army invincible, no human power formidable: I now ſee on your faces a generous indignation at the contempt with which your enemies treat the deſcendants of thoſe valiant heroes, who have often foiled theſe haughty Frenchmen, have won the Iſle of Cyprus, overcome the Saracens, obliged Scotland to receive their yoke, Wales to accept of their laws, and Ireland to become mild and tractable: repay the inſult with your ſwords, and let them ſee how dangerous it is to provoke the truly brave: let not numbers terrify you; valour and ſteadineſs will compenſate for the thinneſs of your ranks, and a few undaunted hearts may be able to withſtand the attacks of a tumultuous hoſt: theſe brave knights which ſurround me will ſhare with us in every danger; therefore follow your ſtandards with reſolution, and doubt not of winning this day eternal renown."

This ſpeech might appear like a bravado from almoſt any other mouth; but the modeſty and courage of the Black Prince were too well known to permit ſuch an interpretation: on this occaſion, when his ſmall army was in danger of being ſwallowed up by a multitude of foes, every method of arouſing their courage to the top of its bent, and by that means endeavouring to ſupply the deficiency of their numbers, was certainly to be purſued. The greateſt generals have allowed, that a recapitulation of the valiant actions of

their anceſtors, or their own former atchievements, is the moſt probable mode of exciting an army to gallant deeds, and of raiſing up a ſpirit of emulation amongſt them. It had the deſired effect; every apprehenſion was in a moment diſpelled by this animated ſpeech, and his men waited with impatience the approach of their enemies.

The ſituation which the prince of Wales had choſen for the preſervation of his little army, ſhewed his expertneſs in every military manœuvre: he had drawn up his men on a ſmall plain ſurrounded by vineyards and incloſures; ſo that the French could only attack him in front, and that through a narrow lane which would admit of no more than four horſemen a-breaſt: this natural fortification, which ſurrounded his camp, he had ſtrengthened by art during the negotiation carried on through the cardinal; and had lined the hedges of the lane with archers, who, being themſelves free from moleſtation, could take their aim with compoſure; he had alſo, in the night, ordered lord John Grielly, captal de Buſche, to march under covert of a hill which lay to the right, with three hundred men at arms, and as many archers, that he might be ready to fall on the enemy's flank during the engagement. He had given the command of the van to the earl of Warwick, the rear to the earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk, taking his own ſtand at the head of the main body: the lords Chandos, Audley, and many other brave and experienced commanders, were at the head of different battalions. In this poſition the prince awaited the attack.

The French king, who was well acquainted with the ſituation of the Engliſh, ordered the mareſchals d'Endregan and Clermont to advance with a ſtrong detachment of men at arms, and endeavour to force their way through the lane; but no ſooner were they entered, than the Engliſh archers made ſuch havock among them, that, being thrown into confuſion, very few

few penetrated to the plain, and these met with so warm a reception from the men at arms, that a small number only escaped: one of the mareschals was killed, and the other taken prisoner; the remainder of this advanced party, who were still in the lane, harrassed by the arrows of the English archers without being able to oppose them, recoiled upon their own army, and put every thing into confusion.

In this critical moment the captal de Busche unexpectedly appeared, and attacked in flank the battalion that was led on by the duke of Normandy, which greatly added to the disorder. The generals to whose care the heir of the French monarch and his brothers were committed, too anxious for their charge, or intimidated at the resolution of the English, carried them off the field, and set an example of flight to the whole division. The duke of Orleans, seized with a similar panic, imagining from the flight of the dauphin's division that every thing was lost, thought it prudent to sound a retreat; but, as he could not long preserve any order in retiring, his intended retreat was likewise soon changed into a flight.

Lord John Chandos, seeing the van of the French wholly defeated, and their main body disordered, called out to the prince of Wale that the day was won, and advised him immediately to march forward and to attack the division under the king: his highness needing no solicitations mounted his horse, and, boldly advancing, fell with great impetuosity on some German brigades under the command of the counts of Nassau Saltsburgh, and Neydo, posted in front of the king's battalion. A dreadful encounter now ensued, in which the prince even exceeded the gallantry he had shewn at Cressy: at length three German generals, with the duke of Athenes, constable of France, being slain, that body of cavalry gave way, and left the king's division exposed to all the fury of a victorious enemy.

The

The French monarch, having been told that his ſons and his brother had withdrawn from the battle, declared aloud, That for his part he would not quit the field though his whole army ſhould forſake him; and, indeed, it is allowed that he performed that day the duty of a valiant knight: had his valour been ſeconded by only a fourth part of his troops, ſucceſs muſt have crowned his efforts to retrieve the honour of the day: he fought on foot with a weighty axe of ſteel in his hand, which he managed with great dexterity and reſolution: his youngeſt ſon Philip, at that time not fourteen years old, fought courageouſly by his ſide: he was alſo ſurrounded by many valiant knights, who endeavoured to defend their ſovereign; amongſt others the duke of Bourbon, the lord of Pons, the count de Vantadour, the lord John of Artois, and Sir Euſtace de Ribemont, who had been vanquiſhed by king Edward at Calais, and releaſed by him without ranſom as a reward for his courage.

On the part of the Engliſh, the prince of Wales was no leſs conſpicuous for his valour than for his ſtation and quality; performing not only the duties of an experienced and careful commander, but alſo thoſe of an approved and valiant knight: his nobles likewiſe behaved with uncommon bravery and reſolution, particularly the lord John Chandos, who for his courage and conduct merited the greateſt encomiums. But it is impoſſible to recount the many noble exploits of the Engliſh nobility: the earls of Oxford, Saliſbury, and Suffolk, rendered themſelves famous by their great atchievements; and the earl of Warwick fought ſo long, and with ſuch fury, that his battle-axe cleaved to his hand; the lord Audley fought all day among the thickeſt of his enemies, performing many gallant deeds, and receiving many deep wounds; notwithſtanding which he could not be prevailed on to leave the field till towards the concluſion of the battle, when his 'ſquires carried him by force to an adjacent meadow,

dow, where they carefully disarmed him, and, binding up his wounds, refreshed him as well as they could: these gallant knights were well supported by those of inferior rank, more especially by the British archers, who behaved themselves with wonderful constancy and alacrity; from them all the French divisions received their first foil, for, being galled and dismayed by their arrows, they were easily broken by the men at arms.

The battalion of French under the command of the king, which still kept its station, was superior in number to the whole English army, and composed of the flower of that nation; but the prince of Wales and his undaunted troops, though greatly fatigued with the toils of the day, boldly attacked this fresh and numerous division: the success which had hitherto attended their arms supported them under this apparent disadvantage, and kept their hopes alive: the fight now became desperate, and for a while was well maintained on both sides; for the French king's presence and example animated his men with uncommon resolution; only troops accustomed to conquest, and led on by their beloved prince, could have withstood such intrepidity; however, after a stout resistance, this last division of the French was also broken, and a great slaughter ensued. The duke of Bourbon, the viscount Chalons, the lord of Argentum, and fifty noblemen of the highest quality, breathed their last on this well-disputed field; even Sir Eustace de Ribemont, who had so bravely encountered king Edward, could not withstand the potent arm of his son.

The forces which fought immediately under the royal banner of France were still so numerous, and disputed the point so well, that for a time they remained impenetrable, and atoned for the cowardice of their countrymen; but the English and Gascon lords at length broke their way through this compact phalanx, and reached the king: the royal standard was beaten down, and its bearer, the valiant lord Geoffrey Char-

ni, ſlain. This circumſtance ſeemed to be a ſignal for a general flight, and thoſe who could eſcape fled with precipitation into Poictiers.

In the firſt breaking of the corps that encircled the French king, lord James of Bourbon, count de Ponthieu; lord John of Artois, count d'Eu; and Charles his brother, count de Tankerville; were taken priſoners by the captal de Buſche; and many other knights ſurrendered themſelves to the moſt advanced of the Engliſh nobles. Impelled both by the love of glory and of gain, the attention of every perſon now appeared to be only engaged on taking the king; thoſe who knew him called out to him to ſurrender; but Sir Dennis de Morbeque, a knight of Artois, who had left France on account of a murder he had committed at St. Omers, and who had ſerved king Edward about five years, by his ſuperior ſtrength making way to the French monarch, deſired him to yield: "To whom ſhall I ſurrender myſelf?" ſaid the king. "Where is my couſin the prince of Wales? to him alone would I wiſh to ſubmit." "The prince," replied de Morbeque, "is at a diſtance; I am myſelf a knight, and will conduct you to him." On which the king gave him his right-hand gauntlet, ſaying at the ſame time, "Unto you I yield myſelf." This not appearing ſatisfactory to ſeveral who had made up to the king before Sir Dennis, there was ſtill a great tumult and crouding about him and his youngeſt ſon Philip, who had ſhared his father's fortune, and in the event the French king was taken by force from de Morbeque by ſeveral Engliſh knights. It appears that John de Pelham (afterwards on this account knighted) was the firſt that came up to the king, and laid hold of his belt; but Sir Roger de la Warre got poſſeſſion of his ſword. In commemoration of theſe ſervices, and the honour thus attained, the deſcendants of Sir John de Pelham uſed the buckles of a belt for their arms, and thoſe of Sir Roger de la Warre the chape of a ſword.

The

The prince of Wales, who had been carried away in purſuit of the flying enemy to a conſiderable diſtance from this ſcene, finding the greateſt part of the field clear, had ordered a tent to be pitched, where he repoſed himſelf after the toils of the battle. His firſt enquiries were relative to the king of France; but, not being able to hear any tidings of him, he diſpatched the earl of Warwick and lord Cobham to learn his fate: theſe lords had not gone far before they eſpied a body of troops hurrying along in ſeeming diſorder; in the midſt of theſe was the French king, in the greateſt hazard of his life, for, the Engliſh and Gaſcoigners having by force torn him from Sir Dennis de Morbeque, they were quarrelling among each other about their title to the royal priſoner; and ſome even threatened to put him to death rather than give up their pretenſions. To avoid the danger which threatened him, this unfortunate monarch was obliged even to uſe intreaties: "Contend not thus warmly about me, brave knights," ſaid he, "but conduct me and my ſon civilly to the prince my couſin, and concern not yourſelves who it was that took me, for I am a king, and able to enrich you all." Theſe words ſomewhat pacified them; and the two lords, arriving at the ſame time, preſerved him from any further indignities: they immediately commanded, in the prince's name, that no one ſhould approach the king's perſon; and then, paying him the reſpect due to a ſovereign, they conducted him and his ſon to the prince's tent.

It is now that the brighteſt part of the Black Prince's character opens to us. His martial atchievements have probably been equalled; but that humanity, moderation, and courteſy, which diſcovered itſelf in him at ſo early an age (for he had not yet reached his twenty-ſeventh year), renders his character unrivalled, and his name immortal.

The firſt impulſe of his heart led him to enquire after the vanquiſhed king; the next after his own

friends and companions. Whilſt the two lords were executing his commands, he aſked thoſe about him if they could give him any intelligence relative to thoſe knights who were abſent, and had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the battle, particularly after the lord Audeley; being told he was grievouſly wounded, and in a litter hard by, the prince expreſſed great concern for him, and ſent two knights to ſee if he was able to be brought to his tent, declaring, at the ſame time, that, if his wounds would not permit this, he would readily wave all ceremony, and wait on him. Lord Audeley, ſenſibly affected by the prince's care and condeſcenſion, ordered his ſervants to bear him in his litter to the place where his highneſs was: when he was brought into his preſence, the prince tenderly embraced him, and endeavoured to cheer him by the kindeſt expreſſions: "I greatly honour you Sir James," he cried, "for the valour you have ſhewn this day; you have atchieved the grace and renown from us all; I therefore retain you as my knight, and, to enable you to purſue the track in which you ſo much excel, I aſſign you a yearly revenue of five hundred marks out of my heritage in England." Lord Audeley thanked the prince, as well as his feeble condition would allow, for this mark of his favour, and retired; but, to ſhew that no motives but thoſe of honour and love for his prince and country had influenced his heart, he transferred the donation to his four 'ſquires. The prince hearing of this generous proceeding, and pleaſed with the ſpirit of his lordſhip, as it correſponded with his own elevated ſentiments, thanked him for ſo proper an application of his gift, and ſettled ſix hundred marks a year more upon him.

Lord Audeley was ſcarcely departed from the prince's tent, than the earl of Warwick returned, and preſented the French king to him. Young Edward received the captured monarch with the ſame reverence and reſpect as if he had approached him in his fulleſt

ſplendour, and conquered him again, with arms more penetrating than the ſword or ſpear, by his moderation and princely courteſy: he immediately ordered ſome refreſhment to be ſet before his majeſty, and, inſtead of aſſuming that ſuperiority which he had acquired by conqueſt, waited upon him himſelf, adminiſtering at the ſame time every conſolation that his ſituation would admit of.

At night he cauſed a magnificent ſupper to be provided in his pavilion for the French king, and thoſe of his priſoners whoſe quality entitled them to this precedence: he obliged the king to ſit in his own chair of ſtate, and his ſon Philip by him; the counts de Ponthieu, d'Eu, and de Tankerville, being all of the blood royal, had ſeats at the ſame table; many lords and knights of inferior degree ſat at other tables; and, during ſupper, the prince of Wales would ſuffer no perſon to ſerve the royal priſoner but himſelf, notwithſtanding the king's intreaties to the contrary. He endeavoured to raiſe the ſpirits of his noble gueſt, by treating him in the moſt humble and reſpectful manner; and, when he ſtill perceived by the king's countenance that he continued dejected, with a benevolence and generoſity not to be parallelled, he thus addreſſed him: "There is no cauſe, ſir, that ſo brave and valiant a monarch ſhould be thus troubled and penſive, although at this time your arms have not been favoured by the great Diſpoſer of events: ſucceſs does not always attend deſert; but your valour is acknowledged, your dignity ſtill preſerved, and your majeſty held ſacred: your great progenitors have atchieved many glorious enterprizes both by ſea and land; the trophies of every part of Europe have proclaimed the victories of France; and in the Eaſt, the faith and grandeur of the Chriſtian name have been propagated and defended by your predeceſſors againſt the moſt puiſſant captains of the infidels: perhaps among ſo many triumphs a few battles have proved unſucceſsful; the

well-known inſtability of Fortune, which ſometimes baffles the force of multitudes, has ſo ordered it; but it lies in your own power to ſupport yourſelf under your preſent adverſe fate, and to keep your mind ſtill unconquered: nor ſhall this day detract any thing from your glory; as the realm of France has produced and nouriſhed many of my progenitors, it ſhall ever find me grateful, and mindful of my origin; and your majeſty ſhall always meet in me, if you will permit me to glory in the title, an humble and reſpectful kinſman. There are many reaſons which render a friendly union between your majeſty and the king my father deſirable: I truſt they will prove efficacious; for, as I well know the moſt ſecret thoughts and affections of his mind, I am ſatisfied you will eaſily come to an accommodation with him: for my own part, may he refuſe to acknowledge me as his ſon, when I ceaſe to hold you in the ſame degree of honour and reſpect I owe to his ſacred perſon."

Thus did this godlike prince endeavour to diſpel the melancholy which clouded the brow of his illuſtrious priſoner; and, by calling to his remembrance the warlike deeds of his anceſtors, ſtrive to take off his attention from the preſent adverſe ſtate to which he was reduced. With an exemplary greatneſs of mind he forbore to make any mention of his own glorious atchievements, though it is natural ſuppoſe he was not at that time cooled from the fury of the battle, and muſt be elated with the greateſt ſucceſs that ever crowned the arms of any general. The ambitious views of his father on the crown of France were loſt in the preſent wiſh to give comfort to the dejected poſſeſſor of it: the partial diſtinctions of friend and foe were extirpated both from his diſcourſe and behaviour, by that truly Chriſtian benevolence which no prince ever poſſeſſed in a more eminent degree, and without which his character might have been indiſcriminately

ſcriminately mingled with the herd of conquerors, born only for the deſtruction of mankind.

This courteous demeanour had a viſible effect on the grateful mind of the French monarch, who has been no leſs celebrated for his many virtues than for his misfortunes: though vanquiſhed and a priſoner, he did not forget that he was a king; he thanked the prince for the attention he paid to his diſtreſſes, and aſſured him, that he thought it no diminution of his honour to be conquered by ſo brave and noble an enemy. The French king ſpoke but ſeldom during the repaſt, and then only ſhort obliging ſentences to the prince, who continued to wait on him till it was finiſhed. But the French nobles could not contain their admiration at ſuch uncommon humility in ſo young a conqueror: overcome by this elevation of mind, more than by their late defeat, they burſt into tears of joy, and dwelt untired on his praiſes. All the Engliſh and Gaſcon knights, imitating the generous example ſet them by their prince, treated their captives with great humanity, and diſmiſſed them on moderate ranſoms.

This ever-memorable victory, termed the battle of Poictiers, was obtained on the nineteenth day of September 1356, beginning about nine in the morning, and ending a little after noon. There were ſlain in it, according to both the French and the Engliſh accounts, the chief and moſt valiant of the nobility of France, among whom were two dukes, nineteen counts, and ſix thouſand men at arms, excluſive of the meaner ſort, who were reckoned at eight thouſand more. The ſlaughter was much leſs here than at Creſſy, the Engliſh forces being not a third ſo numerous; and the prince of Wales was unwilling to continue the purſuit too long, for fear of hazarding the victory, as his foes were ſo abundant. When the priſoners were collected together, they amounted to twice the number of the Engliſh army; they therefore releaſed many of them immediately, after fixing a ſmall

ſmall ranſom upon them, and receiving no other ſecurity than their promiſe to remit it before Chriſtmas to their captors at Bourdeaux: but, remaining maſters of the field of battle, they were all enriched by the ſpoil the found upon it; for they French, confident of ſucceſs, had decorated their horſes and themſelves with their beſt furniture and apparel, that they might celebrate their victory with the greater pomp; the priſoners alſo, though their ranſoms were fixed at a low rate, brought in conſiderable ſums. Every one was allowed to apply to his own uſe the money he received for the captives he had taken; the French monarch, his ſon, and thoſe whoſe redemption exceeded ten thouſand crowns, only excepted, as ſuch belonged by the law of arms to the king.

Early the next morning after the battle, the prince ordered his army to be drawn up, and on the field where its protection had been ſo conſpicuous cauſed thanks to be publicly rendered to Heaven for their ſignal deliverance. Among his many virtues and amiable qualities, an unaffected piety held not a ſecondary place: inſtead of vaunting himſelf on his great proweſs, and priding himſelf in his victories, he was not aſhamed to attribute his ſucceſs to a ſuperior Power, and publicly to offer up his grateful acknowledgments: this humility diffuſed itſelf through every action, and gained him the love and eſteem of thoſe who were witneſſes to it, with the encomiums of ſucceeding ages.

Having allowed his army a proper time for their refreſhment, he prepared to continue his march, intent on the ſecurity of his royal prize and the ſpoil his troops had acquired. Thus did Edward the Black Prince (now doubly dyed black by the terror of his arms, as Froiſſart expreſſes it), after another ſucceſsful expedition, march leiſurely back, and arrive crowned with honour at his chief city of Bourdeaux: the extravagant joy and triumph, the ſumptuous feaſts,

and

and ſplendid pageants, with which this victorious prince and his gallant troops were received into that city, are ſcarcely to be imagined or deſcribed. From hence the prince wrote letters to the king his father, giving him a full but modeſt account of his ſucceſs, and promiſing the next ſpring to attend his royal priſoner to England.

Whilſt he remained at Bourdeaux he was employed in deciding various differences about the French priſoners: thoſe he deſigned to carry with him to England, which the Gaſcoigners laid claim to, he paid them the ranſom for; among theſe were Philip the French king's ſon, the count de Ponthieu, and ſeveral other noblemen: he alſo heard before him the pretenſions of Sir Dennis de Morbeque to the perſon of the king of France; and, notwithſtanding Sir Dennis ſhewed the gauntlet the king had given him, a 'ſquire of Gaſcoigne, named Bernard de Troutes, averred that he had more reaſon to claim the honour of taking the royal priſoner, and thereupon challenged him; but the prince commanded them both, on pain of his diſpleaſure, not to proceed, being determined to leave the deciſion of ſo intricate an affair to the king his father: however, on the French king's declaring in favour of Sir Dennis, the generous prince ſecretly gave him two thouſand nobles to enable him to ſupport the dignity he had acquired till he ſhould arrive at the Engliſh court; and the next year, when king Edward had determined the cauſe in his favour, the prince gave him five thouſand crowns of gold more as a reward for that ſervice; for, though the honour was decreed to him, yet, the king's ranſom being above the ten thouſand crowns ſtipulated by the military laws, the knight was not entitled to it.

So many French noblemen being ſlain or taken priſoners at the late battle, there remained but few able to manage the affairs of that kingdom. The dauphin, now about eighteen years of age, naturally aſſumed the

the royal power during his father's captivity; but, though endowed with excellent abilities, he poſſeſſed neither the experience or authority neceſſary to defend a nation, aſſailed at once by foreign powers and ſhaken by internal factions. In order to obtain ſupplies he aſſembled the ſtates of the kingdom; but, inſtead of ſupporting his adminiſtration, they laid hold of the preſent opportunity to demand limitations of the prince's power, and a renewal of thoſe rights they ſuppoſed to have been infringed by his predeceſſors: a ſcene of confuſion conſequently enſued, and France experienced for ſome months all the horrors attendant on anarchy.

The provinces of Languedoc and Champeigne alone ſeemed ready to contribute towards the king's redemption and the exigences of the ſtate: aſſembled by the earl of Armagnac, the king's lieutenant in thoſe parts, they agreed to pay their quota in money, and alſo to raiſe five thouſand men; at the ſame time they iſſued out an ordonnance, forbidding the men to wear any precious furs or rich ſtuffs; and ordering that all the ladies ſhould lay aſide the gorgeous attire of their heads, and wear neither pearls, gold, nor ſilver, about their clothes, or upon their girdles, ſo long as their king ſhould remain a priſoner: and, further to teſtify their unhappineſs on account of the public calamity, they laid aſide all banquets, entertainments, dances, and every other diverſion, during his captivity. But theſe laudable regulations were of no effect, as moſt of the other provinces entered into the views of the metropolis, whoſe provoſt, ſupported by ſeveral thouſand artificers, ſlew three of the dauphin's counſellors in his preſence, and were ready to ſhake off all regal authority.

During this confuſion in the dauphin's affairs, king Edward ſeemed to have miſſed a favourable opportunity for puſhing his conqueſts; but the ſtate of the Engliſh finances would not at preſent permit him to make

make any regular or continued efforts. It has been alſo eſteemed bad policy in the prince of Wales to keep the French king and the other priſoners ſo long at Bourdeaux, whereby more than a year was ſpent in pleaſure and inactivity; but a rumour having been ſpread, that the three eſtates by which the kingdom of France was then governed had views of reſcuing their king on his paſſage to England, it was neceſſary he ſhould raiſe a fleet ſufficient to convey him with ſafety. This, and the dangers of a winter's voyage, retarded the prince till the twenty-fourth of April following, near ſeven months after the battle of Poictiers, when he ſet ſail for England: on the fifth of May he landed at Sandwich, from whence, after a ſhort ſtay to refreſh himſelf and his companions from the fatigues of the voyage, he proceeded on the twenty-fourth to London.

Sir Henry Picard, then lord mayor, was commanded by the king to prepare for their reception in the moſt honourable manner; and in Southwark they were met by a thouſand of the citizens on horſeback. The king of France, clothed in royal apparel, was mounted on a large white courſer in token of ſovereignty, whilſt his generous conqueror, with his uſual modeſty and unparallelled greatneſs of ſoul, rode by his ſide on a little black horſe, induſtriouſly avoiding every appearance of triumph. They took their way over London-bridge, and rode directly to Weſtminſter, and in the ſtreets, through which they paſſed, the citizens diſplayed their plate, tapeſtry, and valuable ornaments; but they more particularly expoſed their warlike furniture, as ſuitable to the occaſion, and expreſſive of their triumphant joy. The concourſe of people to behold this uncommon ſight was ſo great, that the proceſſion continued from five o'clock in the morning till noon, about which time the prince got to Weſtminſter-hall, where he preſented to the king his father, then ſitting in great ſtate on a royal throne, the per-

ſon of king John, his priſoner. The Engliſh monarch aroſe, and, advancing to meet him, received him with the ſame courteſy as if he had been a neighbouring potentate voluntarily come to pay him a friendly viſit. He then embraced his ſon, and publicly thanked him for the ſervices he had done the kingdom; in which all the people joined with the loudeſt acclamations. The king concluded the day with a magnificent entertainment, and ordered apartments for the principal of his captives in his own palace, till the Savoy could be prepared for their reception.

Never was joy more ſincere and unbounded, than that which diffuſed itſelf through the whole nation on this glorious occaſion; and the rejoicings were continued for ſeveral weeks with the utmoſt ſplendour. Thoſe troops who had been preſent at the battle of Poictiers were welcomed, treated, and highly careſſed, wherever they came, and, in all reſpects, preferred to others of equal rank and condition: on the contrary, all the lords, knights, and 'ſquires, of France, who had fled from the battle, were ſo hated, reviled, and pointed at, that they forbore to appear at any public place of reſort: ſo certainly is honour, and national approbation, the reward of virtuous and gallant actions; and ſo aſſuredly will infamy and reproach purſue the coward or the villain. The ambitious tyrant, or his deſpotic miniſters, may affect to deſpiſe the cenſures of the people, and term them the clamours of an ill-judging mob; the diſgraced general may impute his retreat to accident, to miſtake, or to prudence, and vaunt of his magnanimity whilſt the enemy are at diſtance; but the tyranny of the one, and the cowardice of the other, will appear through the thin diſguiſe, and excite the murmurs of the multitude, whoſe determinations are ſeldom erroneous. The admiration and reſpect which the noble and generous deeds of king Edward and his godlike ſon attracted, not only from their own ſubjects, but from the whole world,

world, ſhould incite ſucceeding princes to an imitation of their virtues, as they bid faireſt to procure them eſteem at home, and honour from their neighbouring potentates. The acclamations of a few may be purchaſed, obedience might be enforced by rigid laws and ſubſervient mercenaries; but how unlike the cheerful huzzas and willing ſervice of a happy people!

The prince of Wales ſhewed ſuch a generous concern for the French monarch, that he promiſed him, both in his tent the night of the late battle, and frequently afterwards, that he would endeavour by his entreaties and influence to prevail on his father to lay aſide his enmity, and liſten to reaſonable terms of accommodation: he accordingly, as a preparatory ſtep, procured a truce to be made till the twenty-fourth of June 1359, in expectation that a peace would be concluded in the interim.

The pope alſo again ſtrove to mediate between theſe princes by his legates, but they were ſo notoriouſly partial to the French, that king Edward would by no means comply with the terms they offered: to enforce their propoſals, and to make a peace the more neceſſary to the Engliſh king, they demanded, in the name of his holineſs, the annuity of one thouſand marks, granted by his predeceſſor king John to the court of Rome when he reſigned his crown; and that ſum having been with-held for ſome years, they inſiſted likewiſe on payment of the arrears. But depending on the duty of his clergy, on the loyalty of Britons, and his own valour, he told them without heſitation, "That as he acknowledged no ſovereignty but that of Heaven, he would never pay tribute, or live in ſubjection, to any mortal whatever." This reſolute reply put an end to the negociation, and a ceſſation of arms, as before agreed, was all that could be accompliſhed.

Some months before the expiration of the truce, king Edward with his ſon the prince of Wales, and

the king of France with lord James of Bourbon, held a friendly meeting at Weſtminſter, when a treaty of peace was agreed to by the two kings on the following terms:

Firſt, That Aquitaine ſhould remain entirely to king Edward and his heirs for ever, together with Gaſcoigne, Poictou, Touraine, Sanctonge, Perigort, Quercy, Limouſin, Angouleſmois, Calais, Guiſnes, Boulognois, and the county of Ponthieu, without any homage or tribute being required of him; and holding it by the ſame abſolute ſovereignty as he held his kingdom of England.

Secondly, That the French king ſhould pay as a ranſom for himſelf three millions of crowns of gold, and one million for the lords of France.

In conſideration of theſe conditions king Edward would give up and wholly remit all his right in and to the dutchies of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine; and renounce his pretenſions to the crown of France, never after taking upon him the title of king of that country.

This agreement was ſigned and ſealed by both kings on the twenty-fourth of March 1359, and a copy thereof ſent to France for the acquieſcence of the dauphin, by the lord James of Bourbon, and the lord Arnold d'Endreghan: but the dauphin and the ſtates of France rejected a treaty which they eſteemed diſhonourable to that nation. This refuſal being brought to the French king by the two lords, he turned to king Edward, who was preſent, and thus expreſſed his diſſatisfaction: "The fatal obſtinacy of my infatuated people is providing another trophy for your victorious arms; you muſt again ſhew them the ſad effects of war, before they will underſtand the advantages of peace: but thrice unhappy I, who cannot regain my liberty till I ſee my ſubjects once more vanquiſhed; and can only impel them to their duty by the arms of my conqueror."

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From this time king Edward began to make preparations for war; and, in the interim, to keep his knights in employ, as well as to indulge their taſte for chivalry*, which the people of that age were enthuſiaſtically fond of, he cauſed a ſolemn jouſt to be proclaimed in London, to hold three ſucceſſive days, for the amuſement of the citizens: in the proclamation made on this occaſion it was given out, that the lord mayor, the two ſheriffs, and the aldermen, as challengers, agreed to maintain the field againſt all oppoſers: but, on the day appointed, the king himſelf, according to a private agreement, came into the city, attended by his four ſons, Edward, Lionel, John, and Edmund, and by nineteen of his principal barons, where, bearing the city-arms on their ſhields and ſurcoats, they perſonated the corporation, and entered the liſts in their ſtead: they ſupported their challenge with great honour for three days, in the preſence of the kings of France and Scotland, the whole court, and an infinite number of ſpectators: a few only of the citizens had been let into the ſecret; but when it was publicly known that the king and his ſons had done them ſo great an honour, and fought ſo gallantly under their cognizance, they were greatly rejoiced, and found, if poſſible, their love for their ſovereign and his amiable family increaſed.

The truce was no ſooner expired, and the neceſſary preparations made, than king Edward embarked his army, which conſiſted of one hundred thouſand men, on board one thouſand one hundred and twenty ſail of

* The following inſtance, recorded by Pere Daniel, will ſhew the prevalence of chivalry and gallantry at that time, and countenance this noble tournament of king Edward, which is depicted in the annexed copper-plate. A ſolemn duel of thirty knights on each ſide was fought between Bemborough an Engliſhman, and Beaumanoir a Breton, of the party of Charles de Blois; the knights of two nations being come to the field, before the conteſt began, Beaumanoir called out, That it ſhould be ſeen that day who had the faireſt miſtreſſes. After a bloody combat the Bretons prevailed, and gained for their prize the liberty to boaſt of their miſtreſſes beauty.

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ſhips at Sandwich, and landed the ſame evening at Calais: on the fourth of November, early in the morning, they left that town, and marched with great regularity into France, the king obſerving a ſtricter diſcipline on this occaſion than on any former one. The carriages which had been brought from England conſiſted of ſix thouſand carts and waggons, each drawn by four horſes; they were laden with proviſions for the army, beſides many things rarely ſeen in a camp, but uſeful in an enemy's country; ſuch as hand-mills to grind their corn, moveable ovens and forges: theſe were committed to the care of the prince of Wales, who had with him his three brothers, two thouſand ſpears, and four thouſand archers on horſeback, beſides infantry.

As this army was the greateſt that ever paſſed the ſea from England in any prior or ſucceeding reign, in memory of the principal leaders we ſhall recite their names: Edward the third, king of England, France, and lord of Ireland; with his four ſons, viz. Edward of Woodſtock, prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, &c. Lionel of Antwerp, earl of Ulſter, afterwards created duke of Clarence; John of Gaunt, earl of Richmond, afterwards duke of Lancaſter, and king of Caſtile and Leon; and Edmund of Langley, earl of Cambridge, afterwards duke of York. The king's fifth ſon, Thomas of Woodſtock, was left in England, and, though not ſix years of age, was conſtituted by his father lieutenant and lord warden of the kingdom during his abſence in France, ſeveral of the wiſeſt prelates and counſellors being appointed as the real governors. The reſt of the leaders were Henry Plantagenet, duke of Lancaſter, the king's couſin-german; Roger lord Mortimer, earl of March, and conſtable of England; Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and Robert Ufford, earl of Suffolk, marſhals of the army; Ralph Stafford, earl of Stafford; William Montague, earl of Saliſbury and king of Man; Hum-

phry Bohun, earl of Hereford and Eſſex; William Bohun his brother, earl of Northampton; and John Vere, earl of Oxford; the lord Henry Piercy and his eldeſt ſon Sir Henry, who was afterwards created earl of Northumberland; with the lords Ralph Neville, Edward Spencer, John Chandos, Walter Manny, Reginald Cobham, John Grey, John Mowbray, Roger de la Warre, Thomas Felton, John Willoughby, James Audeley, Ralph Baſſet, John Carleton, Bartholomew Burgherſh, John Fitzwalter, Edmund Pierpoint, and John Botetourt, (the predeceſſors of ſeveral noble families now living,) beſides many knights of great repute: excluſive of theſe noble perſons, a great number of lords and gentlemen, ſtrangers, drawn by the high renown and ſplendid ſucceſs of king Edward and his ſon, were emulous to fight under their banners.

The dauphin and the three eſtates of the kingdom of France, ſeeing ſo formidable an enemy approach, were the more eaſily reconciled, and united for their country's defence: but the young prince, warned by the ill-ſucceſs of his father, reſolved to act only on the defenſive; he accordingly prepared to elude a blow which it was impoſſible for him to reſiſt, by putting all the conſiderable towns in a poſture of defence; having ſupplied them with ſtrong garriſons, he fixed his own ſtation at Paris, with a view of allowing the invaders to waſte their fury on the open country.

The Engliſh army, having ravaged Picardy, advanced into Champaigne, Edward having a ſtrong deſire to be crowned king of France at Rheims, the uſual place in which that ceremony is performed; he therefore laid ſiege to that city, and vigorouſly carried on his attacks for ſeven weeks, though without ſucceſs, it being defended by John de Craon, their archbiſhop, with great bravery.

During the ſiege ſeveral ſtrong detachments were ſent out to forage, whereby many rencounters happened:

pened: the moſt remarkable atchievement performed by theſe detached parties, was by one under the command of the duke of Lancaſter, accompanied by the earl of Richmond, the king's third ſon, the earl of March, the lord John of Chandos, the lord James Audeley, the lord Burgherſh, and the lord of Mucidan, a Gaſcon knight. Having ravaged Champaigne till they came to Cerney en Dormois, a ſtrong caſtle, they made a vigorous aſſault on it; and, the lord of Mucidan being ſlain, all the lords ſwore they would not ſtir till they had taken the place: the Gaſcoigners, enraged at the loſs of their commander, plunged into the ditches, and, mounting the walls with their targets over their heads, forced the caſtle, putting, in the firſt tranſports of their fury, all the garriſon to the ſword, except Sir John Caples the governor, and a few knights.

King Edward, foreſeeing the plan of defence laid down by the dauphin, had (as before obſerved) brought with him as many neceſſaries as poſſible for the ſubſiſtence of his army; he had alſo with him for his amuſement thirty falconers with hawks, and ſixty couple of hounds; with theſe the chief of the nobility hawked and hunted at pleaſure, thus paſſing away a tedious winter.

Still finding an obſtinate reſiſtance from the inhabitants of Rheims, and that an attempt to take it by ſtorm, which his valour ſometimes ſuggeſted, would occaſion the loſs of many troops, having alſo greater deſigns in agitation, the king decamped and marched into Burgundy. On his approach, Philip the young duke ſent his chancellor and ſome other noblemen to Edward, offering one hundred thouſand nobles for the preſervation of his country from further ravages: this offer was accepted, and the Engliſh army withdrew from his territories. The king then bent his march towards the Nivernois, which ſaved itſelf by a like compoſition; but the other provinces not purchaſing

chaſing the ſame favour, he marched towards Paris, laying waſte the territories through which he proceeded.

On the laſt day of March he encamped before that city, taking up his quarters at Bourg-la-Reine, within two ſmall leagues of it. During the feſtival of Eaſter ſeveral treaties were ſet on foot to prevent a further effuſion of blood, but without ſucceſs: this induced king Edward to draw his whole army nearer to Paris, when he ſent the duke of Lancaſter with his heralds to challenge the regent, then in the city with a very conſiderable force, to battle, aſſuring him at the ſame time, that, if the French were victorious, he would never after claim, or aſſume, any right to the crown of France. Whilſt the duke was on this errand, the king knighted no leſs than four hundred young gentlemen, to encourage them to a valiant behaviour ſhould a battle enſue.

But the duke of Lancaſter ſoon returned with an anſwer, that the dauphin declined to accept the defiance; when the king granted Sir Walter Manny leave, on his earneſt requeſt, to go at the head of the new-made knights, and a conſiderable body of troops, to ſkirmiſh near the barriers, and to burn what they could of the ſuburbs, hoping by this means to provoke the French to iſſue out: the aſſault was vigorous and laſted from morning till noon, the French defending their ports with great reſolution; but the regent having given peremptory orders that no man, on forfeiture of his life, ſhould go beyond the barriers, this deſign of Sir Walter proved ineffectual.

The king now ſeeing that no provocations could bring the dauphin to a battle, and that it was impoſſible to reduce the city with ſo numerous an army in it, he raiſed his camp and marched into Bretagné: his intention was to lay waſte the country as he proceeded, and, after having refreſhed his troops in that fruitful province, to return to Paris before the harveſt was

got in; as this plan would prevent the dauphin from procuring any freſh ſupplies of corn, he doubted not of being then able to reduce that city by famine.

But whilſt he was on his march ambaſſadors followed him with freſh overtures of peace. The regent, his two brothers, and their uncle the duke of Orleans, having, in council, maturely conſidered the miſerable ſituation of France, occaſioned by the ravages of the king of England, they began ſeriouſly to wiſh for an accommodation: to this purpoſe they added the biſhop of Terovenne, a prelate of great conſequence and judgment, to the negotiators that had been employed during the Eaſter week, and ordered him to follow king Edward: overtaking him near Gaillardon, they deſired him to permit a treaty to be held once more for this ſalutary end; which he readily granted, appointing his ſon the Black Prince, with the duke of Lancaſter, to hear their propoſals; but, at the ſame time, ſlackened neither his march or his operations. The negotiation was carried on in this manner for ſeveral days, but the Engliſh monarch's demands appeared ſo unreaſonable to the French commiſſioners, that they were obliged to ſend an account of their proceedings frequently to the regent, and to wait a return of his directions.

Very little progreſs being made in the treaty, as king Edward would not renounce his pretenſions to the crown of France, Henry, called, for his heroic and princely virtues, the Good Duke of Lancaſter, endeavoured to ſoften the rigour of theſe conditions, and to terminate the war on more equal and reaſonable ones: the king notwithſtanding continued inexorable, as the juſtice of his claims to the French throne had been early rooted in his breaſt, and had been long the favourite wiſh of his heart. However, whilſt the duke of Lancaſter was one day reiterating his reaſons and intreaties on their march towards Chartres, an accidental ſtorm removed his obduracy, and effected

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what the duke's moſt forcible arguments could not have brought about. The ſky, in an inſtant, became clouded, and there fell ſuch torrents of rain and hail, accompanied by ſuch tremendous peals of thunder and flaſhes of lightning, that the whole fabric of nature appeared to be diſſolving: even the boldeſt knights, thoſe who had often braved death in battle, could not behold this uncommon agitation of the elements undiſmayed. At the ſame time it became ſo exceſſive cold, that ſix thouſand horſes and near one thouſand men periſhed on the ſpot; among others, that brave young nobleman the lord Guy Beauchamp, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Warwick, was ſo wounded, that he died a few days after at Vendoſme. King Edward looked on this as a loud declaration of the Divine diſpleaſure at his ſeverity; alighting therefore immediately from his horſe, he kneeled on the ground, and made a ſolemn vow to Heaven, that he would now ſincerely and abſolutely incline his mind to peace with France on reaſonable conditions: thus diſpoſed, he encamped at a village near Chartres, called Bretigny, where the French commiſſioners attended him next day with ample inſtructions, and he was content to accept of their offers of peace.

This famous treaty was negotiated by Edward prince of Wales, Charles the dauphin regent of France, and their agents, in the name of both the kings, theſe two princes, and all the ſubjects of either realm. It was therein ſtipulated, that king John ſhould be reſtored to his liberty, on paying for his ranſom three millions of crowns in gold, about one million five hundred thouſand pounds of the preſent money, which was to be diſcharged at different payments. That king Edward ſhould for ever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, poſſeſſed by his anceſtors; in exchange for which he ſhould receive, beſides what he already held in Guienne and

Gaſcoigné, the provinces of Poictou, Saincton ge, Agenois, Perigort, the Limouſin, Tarbé, Cahourſin, Bigorre, Gaure, l'Angouleſmois, and other diſtricts in that quarter, together with Calais, Guiſnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other ſide of France. That the full ſovereignty of theſe provinces, as well as that of Guienne, ſhould be veſted in the crown of England; and, That France ſhould renounce all the title to feudal juriſdiction or homage for them. That the king of Navarre ſhould be reſtored to all his honours and poſſeſſions. That the Engliſh ſhould renounce their confederacy with the Flemiſh, the French their connections with the Scots. That the diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion of Brittany, between the families of Blois and Mountfort, ſhould be decided by arbitrators appointed by the two kings. And, That forty hoſtages ſhould be ſent to England as a ſecurity for the performance of all theſe conditions.

This treaty being firſt ſigned by the prince of Wales and the dauphin, was afterwards ratified by oath in the following manner, as deſcribed by Walſingham: "At Paris, in the time of low maſs, when they had thrice ſang, *O Lamb of God, which takeſt away the ſins of the world, grant us thy peace*, Charles the dauphin, regent of France, went up to the altar, and laying his right hand on the patten wherein lay the Holy Euchariſt, and his left on the Goſpels, he took his oath in theſe words: We Charles do ſwear upon the Holy Body and the Goſpels of our Lord, firmly what in us lies to keep this peace and concord thus formed between the two kings; and by no means to go againſt the ſame. So help us, &c." The like oath was taken by the prince of Wales, in the church of Louviers in Normandy.

The peace being thus confirmed, king Edward marched by way of Abbeville to Calais, where he gave orders for the embarkation of his troops for England:

England: but the prince of Wales, with his diviſion, having marched into Normandy, that the army being thus divided might be better accommodated, the king haſtened from Calais to Harfleur, where he took ſhipping with his ſon, and landed at Rye, in Suſſex, on the eighteenth of May, 1360.

The king of France being now at liberty to return to his kingdom, the prince of Wales conducted him to Calais on the eighth of July; but, the money agreed for the firſt payment of his ranſom being delayed to the twenty-fifth of October following, the prince, with his uſual courteſy, attended his royal friend till that time, and endeavoured, by varying his divertiſements, to make his abode there agreeable.

On king Edward's arrival at Calais in the beginning of October, both kings again ratified and confirmed, by oath, the treaty, the French monarch being no longer a priſoner; the hoſtages were alſo delivered up, and four hundred thouſand crowns of gold paid in part of the ranſom: king Edward then entertained his royal gueſt in a magnificent manner, the prince of Wales, his brothers, and the chief nobility, ſerving uncovered. The next morning king John, with his retinue, left Calais, the king of England accompanying him a mile on his way, where the two monarchs parted with many profeſſions of mutual friendſhip and amity. The good diſpoſition of the French king made him fully ſenſible of the generous treatment he had met with in England, and obliterated from his memory the unfortunate incidents which had given occaſion for it.

The prince of Wales attended him to Boulogne, where they parted with great reluctance; endeared to each other by a reciprocation of noble and virtuous ſentiments and repeated acts of courteſy, a generous friendſhip, ſuch as is only known to exalted minds, had taken root in their boſoms never to be eradicated: though they had met as enemies, yet the fervour of

their laſt embrace ſpoke more forcibly than words could do the affectionate emotions of their truly royal hearts.

The prince on his return to Calais embarked with his father, and the French hoſtages, on the laſt day of October, and landed at Dover the next morning. When the king arrived in London, with his uſual humanity, he gave command to all his officers to bear themſelves kind and favourable towards the lords of France, and to defend them from all affronts and injuries whatever.

We are now to behold the character of the heroic prince of Wales in another point of view: ſoftened by peace, he became a captive to love; but even in this ſituation he gave proofs of the dignity of his ſentiments and rectitude of his heart. In the early part of his life he had attended his father to Antwerp, where he was ſo admired by the whole court of the duke of Brabant for his exact ſhape, noble air, and graceful accompliſhments, that a match was propoſed by the duke between the prince and the lady Margaret his daughter. The propoſal was readily accepted by king Edward, on the duke's promiſing to give for her portion fifty thouſand pounds ſterling. But the royal children being within the third degree of conſanguinity, and the pope refuſing to grant a diſpenſation, the marriage was not conſummated. Since which the prince had never turned his thoughts to wedlock; honour had been his only miſtreſs, and military atchievements his whole delight. The time, however, at length arrived, when he was to add another proof to the innumerable inſtances already recorded by hiſtorians, that the boldeſt hearts are not impenetrable to the ſhafts of love.

An accidental arrow pierced his breaſt; for ſoliciting Joan, counteſs of Kent, one day in behalf of a friend, he was ſo ſtruck with her noble reply, and the force of her charms, that he yielded up his heart

to

to her. This lady was daughter and heireſs of Edmund of Woodſtock, earl of Kent, ſecond ſon of king Edward the firſt, and for her admirable beauty was generally ſtyled the Fair Maid of Kent. Though thus royally deſcended, ſhe was firſt married to Sir Thomas Holland, who in her right was earl of Kent, and by whom ſhe had three ſons and a daughter: Sir Thomas dying, ſhe ſtill retained ſo much of her beauty, that the prince could not behold her without feeling emotions to which he had hitherto been a ſtranger. She was in the thirty-third year of her age, and the prince in the thirty-firſt of his, when he made his addreſſes to her in favour of a perſon he much reſpected, whoſe name is not handed down to us. He repeated his ſolicitations with great diſintereſtedneſs, but always found the lady reluctant: at length, when the prince would no longer be denied, ſhe told him, with ſome warmth, "That when ſhe was a ward ſhe had been diſpoſed of by others; but that now, being at years of diſcretion, and miſtreſs of her own actions, ſhe would not degrade herſelf by marrying beneath her rank." She added, "That, as ſhe could not but remember ſhe was of the blood royal of England, ſhe was reſolved never to marry again, unleſs it was to a perſon princely and virtuous as himſelf." A bluſh, which overſpread her lovely face as ſhe concluded, conveyed the whole of her meaning to young Edward, who, from that moment, began to form wiſhes not very favourable to his friend. The prince, who was a paſſionate admirer of every gallant ſpirit, was ſo pleaſed with the dignity of her manner and ſentiments, and ſo charmed with the partiality ſhe ſeemed to expreſs for himſelf, that he now ſolicited her hand on his own account: as he ſaw the counteſs ſo determined againſt the perſon propoſed to her, he thought it no breach of friendſhip to accept of that love he could not gain for another, and which had been ſo delicately offered him.

King

King Edward was greatly pleaſed both with his determination and his choice; a more ſuitable match could not have been propoſed to him, as he wanted not to ſtrengthen his throne by foreign alliances: the prince the great grand-child of Edward the firſt of glorious memory; the counteſs grand-child of the ſame monarch: he the glory of his ſex for military performances, and all princely virtues; and ſhe the flower of hers, for the delicacy of her beauty, the ſprightlineſs of her wit, and the goodneſs of her heart. To noble and ingenuous minds affectation is diſpleaſing: they deferred no longer to indulge their mutual wiſhes than was neceſſary to procure a diſpenſation from the pope on account of their conſanguinity; this being obtained, they were married with great ſplendour and ſolemnity at the caſtle of Windſor, on the tenth of October 1361, and, during their whole lives, lived an example to the Engliſh court, of that nuptial harmony and felicity which flows from a well-placed affection.

King Edward being now poſſeſſed of ſuch conſiderable territories in France, the ſovereignty of which had been confirmed to him by the treaty of Bretigny, he had thoughts of erecting Aquitane and the other provinces into a kingdom, and to annex them to his titles; but, taking into conſideration the great ſervices of his ſon Edward, he reſigned them to him, creating him prince of Aquitane. The prince having received the proper charters, which contained many tender expreſſions from the king, and done homage for his dominions, he made preparations to paſs the ſeas to take poſſeſſion of them: the remainder of the year was employed in preparing a retinue equal to his dignity, which, by the acquiſition of ſo rich a principality, required the pomp and ſtate of royalty.

After Chriſtmas the king and queen, with their whole family, went to viſit the prince and princeſs at Berkhampſtead, a manor belonging to the prince in Hertfordſhire,

Hertfordſhire, where they continued ſeveral days, during which time the king held many conſultations with his ſon on public affairs, as he always paid great reſpect to the prince's judgment, not only in the concerns of war, but alſo thoſe of civil government: the remainder of the time was ſpent in ſplendid entertainments, and in ſuch diverſions as could give pleaſure to their royal gueſts; the prince and princeſs by their hoſpitality, affable behaviour, and tender affection for each other, increaſing that eſteem and veneration in which they were before held by the Engliſh court.

In the beginning of the February following, the prince went on board his fleet, of which the Earl of Warwick was admiral, and arrived in four days at Rochelle, at which place he, and his princeſs who accompanied him, were received with joyful acclamations: on the fifth day after his arrival he ſet out with a princely train for Poictiers, where the nobility of that province met him with great reſpect, and cheerfully paid him homage. Thus, near the ſpot on which he vanquiſhed the powers of France, he reaped the firſt fruits of his conqueſt. From Poictiers he went to Bourdeaux, where he kept his court with all the ſplendour of a monarch: thither the nobles of Gaſcoigne came to render him fealty; he received them graciouſly, and behaved towards them in all points with ſo much honour, graced by ſuch a noble, generous, and affable, deportment, that they rejoiced in the exchange of ſovereigns, and promiſed themſelves much proſperity under his government.

Among thoſe who came to pay him homage were the Earls of Foix and Armagnac, lords of great power, and nearly allied by blood, but there ſubſiſted a great animoſity between them: this had broke out into a war, which the French king durſt not undertake to compoſe, for fear of diſobliging the king of England, whoſe vaſſals they were; but the prince of Wales took

the opportunity of their meeting at his court to make peace between them, his obliging carriage and convincing arguments bringing them to reaſon, though before they were not inclinable to admit of an accommodation.

But it was not in the power of the prince to reconcile the minds of all his new ſubjects to this change of government. Some of the towns transferred to the Engliſh monarch by the late treaty of peace, expreſſed great reluctance againſt ſubmitting to the dominion of the Engliſh: John king of France therefore took a reſolution of coming over to England, in order to adjuſt theſe differences with the greater readineſs: his council endeavoured to diſſuade him from this raſh deſign, and probably adviſed him to make this a pretext for breaking a treaty ſo diſadvantageous to his nation; but the king, among many other virtues, poſſeſſed a nice ſenſe of honour, and a ſcrupulous punctuality in fulfilling every obligation he had entered into: he conſequently told them, "That though good faith was baniſhed from the reſt of the earth, ſhe ought notwithſtanding to retain her habitation in the breaſts of princes." A declaration which will ever do him honour, and, excluſive of his valour and humanity, will make his name reſpected.

On his arrival in England he was received by king Edward with the greateſt cordiality, and had the Savoy palace again allotted for his reſidence; but he lived not long enough to enjoy the hoſpitable reception of Edward, or to finiſh the buſineſs which brought him over, for he ſoon ſickened and died. This prince lived an inſtance that bravery, goodneſs of heart, and unſpotted honour, cannot always ſecure the poſſeſſor from the frowns of fortune, though merited only by ſlight imprudences. His too haſty and ill-judged attack of the Engliſh army at Poictiers, notwithſtanding the number of his forces warranted the moſt deſperate attempt, tumbled him from a ſplendid throne to captivity,

vity, and wreſted from him a large portion of his dominions. But though the reign of king John of France, and that of his father, proved unfortunate to their kingdom, the French crown acquired, during their time, the provinces of Dauphiny and Burgundy, valuable acquiſitions.

Charles the Dauphin ſucceeded his father on the throne; a prince educated in the ſchool of adverſity, and well qualified by his prudence and experience to repair the loſſes which the nation had ſuſtained from the errors of his predeceſſors. Before Charles VII. could think of oppoſing the power of England, or endeavour to recover the provinces his father had diſmembered, it was neceſſary to repair the many diſorders to which his own kingdom was expoſed. Inſtead of commanding his armies himſelf, as his anceſtors had done, he choſe Sir Bertrand du Gueſclin, a knight of Brittany, to fight his battles; reſerving to himſelf the more important duties of a king---policy, foreſight, and judgment. This gentleman was one of the moſt accompliſhed knights of the age; Charles had diſcernment enough to diſtinguiſh his talents, and to employ them to advantage. He firſt directed his proweſs againſt the king of Navarre, who had long ſecretly aſſiſted the enemies of France, and given that kingdom continual diſturbance; Sir Bertrand attacked him with ſucceſs, and obliged him to accept of peace on diſadvantageous terms.

The wars in Brittany ſtill continuing, notwithſtanding the mediation of France and England, Sir Bertrand was ſent to the aſſiſtance of Charles de Blois, to whoſe intereſt the French king had always been attached; but the knight found himſelf unable to cope with the valiant Engliſh knight lord John Chandos, who fought on the ſide of the count de Mountford: Sir Bertrand du Gueſclin was taken priſoner by lord John, and Charles du Blois being ſlain, the young count got poſſeſſion of that duchy. The French king, by his

policy, guarded againſt any hoſtile conſequences that might have ariſen from this event; for ſubmitting to the deciſion of fortune, he acknowledged the title of de Mountford, and received as ſovereign the profered homage for his dominions.

Another embarraſſment now called for the exertion of king Charles's policy. On the concluſion of the peace of Bretigny, the many military adventurers who had followed the fortunes of king Edward, being diſperſed into ſeveral provinces of France, and poſſeſſed of many fortreſſes, they refuſed to lay down their arms, or relinquiſh a courſe of life to which they were accuſtomed, and by which alone they could gain a ſubſiſtence. Theſe, by the acceſſion of numbers who were reduced to miſery and deſpair from the devaſtations of war, amounted in the whole to near forty thouſand, conſolidated under the name of companions and mercenaries, who committed depredations on the peaceable inhabitants of the kingdom. Some Engliſh and Gaſcon gentlemen, however, were not aſhamed to take the command of theſe ruffians; they fought ſeveral regular battles with the troops of France, in many of which they were victorious, and in one of them a prince of the blood loſt his life. This evil was every day increaſing, nor could a ſentence of excommunication, which was iſſued by the pope againſt them, put a ſtop to their outrages.

As Charles the French king was unable to ſuppreſs them by force, he politicly contrived to find them employ againſt ſome foreign power: an opportunity ſoon offered: for Pedro, king of Caſtile, termed with great propriety the cruel, having filled his own family and his kingdom with bloodſhed, his natural brother, Henry count de Tranſtamara, aſſiſted by thoſe ſubjects who were diſguſted at the king's cruelty, took up arms againſt him; the count however, being unſucceſsful in the attempt, fled into France, where he found not only an aſylum, but aſſiſtance; for king

Pedro

Pedro having, at the inſtigation of his miſtreſs Maria de Padrilla, put to death his wife who was ſiſter to the queen of France, the whole French nation were greatly exaſperated againſt him, and ready to revenge her murder. Charles took advantage of this diſpoſition of his people to aſſiſt the count, and at the ſame time to employ this corps of companions, who had given him ſo much trouble; he accordingly ſent amongſt them Sir Bertrand du Gueſclin, who was by this time ranſomed from the Engliſh. The heroic character this general poſſeſſed, induced them to rely on his promiſes, and to enliſt under his ſtandard, though they knew not the deſtination of their arms; the only condition they required before their engagement was, that they ſhould not be led againſt the prince of Wales in Guienne. Sir Bertrand agreeing to this reſtriction, ſoon raiſed a ſufficient number of forces, and marched into Spain, where the univerſal deteſtation king Pedro was held in by his ſubjects, made his expulſion an eaſy taſk to hardy and experienced ſoldiers, led on by ſo able a general. Don Henry was accordingly ſeated on his brother's throne, and the exiled king obliged to ſeek a refuge in Guienne.

Whilſt this was tranſacting the prince of Wales employed himſelf in the regulation of his principality: he conſtituted the lord John Chandos conſtable of all Aquitaine, and the lord Guiſchard d'Angle his marſhal; the other great offices he diſtributed without partiality to the Engliſh and Gaſcon knights according to their merit, chooſing thoſe whoſe fidelity he was aſſured of, and who were moſt celebrated for their virtues. Perhaps there never lived a prince of greater integrity or ſtricter honour; the poſſeſſion of ſimilar qualities was conſequently a ſure recommendation to his favour: and ſo great was his penetration, that he was ſeldom miſtaken in his judgment of perſons.

He now became as famous for the juſtice and propriety of his government in peace, as for his heroic atchieve-

atchievements in war. Peter of Luſignan, king of Cyprus and Jeruſalem, having been ſoliciting ſeveral of the European potentates to aſſiſt him in a cruſade for the recovery of Jeruſalem, was ſo ſtruck with the brilliancy of the prince of Wales's character, that he declared he ſhould eſteem every thing he had ſeen or done of little moment, till he had been perſonally witneſs to the excellencies of ſo renowned a perſon; he therefore took a journey to Angouleſme, where the prince then kept his court, and arrived at the time he held a grand tournament in honour of the birth of his ſon Edward, 1364. The king of Cyprus beheld with admiration this celebrated hero, and was ſoon convinced that fame had not been too laviſh in his praiſes: after being nobly entertained and greatly careſſed by the prince, he procured leave on his departure for the earl of Warwick, the lord Roos, and upwards of three hundred valiant knights of England and Gaſcoigne, to aſſiſt him in the holy wars.

It was in the fourth year of the prince's reſidence upon his conquered dominions in France, that Don Pedro, the king of Caſtile, implored his protection. Whilſt that king remained at Corunna he ſent a letter to the prince of Wales, declaring his misfortunes, his danger, and his poverty; and entreating, in the humbleſt manner, that he would grant him ſuccour. Having ſummoned the lords who compoſed his council, the Black Prince ſhewed them the Spaniſh king's letter, and deſired their advice how to act: "Shall we, after the manner of the world," ſaid this generous prince, "neglect a man in adverſity? or ſhall we, as charity and benevolence require, aſſiſt him to recover his throne? He claims our aid as a lawful heir and acknowledged ſovereign, driven from it by an illegitimate pretender; ſhall we therefore, notwithſtanding his crimes, endeavour to regain for him his crown, ſtriving at the ſame time to ſoften the rigour of his diſpoſition, which will enſure him the future obedience

of

of his ſubjects? It is true we are here enjoying the pleaſures of peace, but are they not attended with obſcurity and diſgrace? If we undertake this enterprize and ſucceed, as I truſt we ſhall, immortal honour, the warrior's chiefeſt good, will be our reward." The lords, inſpired by the ſame generous principles, gave their opinion in favour of the baniſhed king; and it was agreed to invite him to Bourdeaux, that they might hear more at leiſure the particulars of his requeſt.

There is no action of this excellent prince's life that ſeems to deſerve cenſure excepting this. To engage in defence of a king held in general deteſtation for his numberleſs cruelties, has drawn upon him the cenſure of many: ſome, imputing it to a reſtleſs diſpoſition, have ſaid, that, inflamed by the love of arms, he conſidered not the character of the perſon for whom he undertook a war, ſo he engaged in battles and bloodſhed; others, ſuppoſing it to proceed from preſumption generated by his former victories, conſider it rather as the effect of vanity than generoſity; whilſt the French, aſcribing it to envy, boaſt that the prince, repining at the recent ſucceſs of their great commander Sir Bertrand du Gueſclin, was determined to ſnatch the laurels from his brow. The latter is very improbable; for after two ſuch unparalleled victories as thoſe of Creſſy and Poictiers, it cannot be ſuppoſed that the prince of Wales could ſet his name in competition with a knight who had not yet arrived to any degree of glory. It was not till after this period that Sir Bertrand's atchievements acquired him ſo much renown; and even then the prince of Wales, whoſe honour the greateſt monarchs on earth might envy, could not ſurely condeſcend to be jealous of a perſon who had been conquered and taken priſoner by lord John Chandos, one of his generals. The natural greatneſs of the prince's ſoul forbids this concluſion. Inured from his childhood to war, and diſliking the

inactive

inactive ſtate he had long remained in, he might perhaps engage too haſtily in the cauſe of an undeſerving king: to prevent the acquiſition of ſo powerful a confederate to France as the new king of Caſtile, who was allied by honour and gratitude to that kingdom, may have been another inducement: the latter motive will in a great meaſure excuſe the precipitate ſtep, if we are unwilling to allow him the merit of generouſly intending to ſuccour a diſtreſſed prince. He found however in the end too much reaſon to repent his engaging in favour of a potentate, who was not only cruel and tyrannical, but perfidious and ungrateful.

No ſooner were his reſolutions taken to liſten to the petitions of Don Pedro, than he fitted out twelve men of war to bring him from Corunna, of which he appointed the lord Thomas Felton admiral: but whilſt this fleet was detained at Bayonne by contrary winds, the fugitive king arrived there, attended only by his three daughters, and a ſlender retinue. Being obliged by his ſucceſsful adverſary to leave his kingdom, he threw himſelf without heſitation into the hands of a prince, on whoſe known honour he was ſatisfied he could rely. According to his uſual courteſy, the prince met the Caſtilian king on the road to Bourdeaux, ſhewing him the ſame reſpect as if he had been in poſſeſſion of his kingdom. Don Pedro was not wanting in promiſes to confirm the prince of Wales in his favour: he agreed, on his re-eſtabliſhment, to give him the province of Biſcay, and to make his young ſon Edward king of Gallicia; he likewiſe voluntarily covenanted to diſtribute all his riches, which being unable to bring with him he had ſecreted in Caſtile, among the troops that ſhould be employed to aſſiſt him.

The Black Prince, before he abſolutely engaged in this enterprize, thought it his duty to conſult his royal father, without whoſe approbation he had never undertaken any ſtep of importance, on the propriety of it. To this end he diſpatched the lord Roger de la

Warre and three other knights to England, poſtponing his reſolutions till their return. King Edward approved of the undertaking, and as a token of his concurrence ſent his third ſon the duke of Lancaſter, who was deſirous of ſeeing his brother and ſerving under him in this expedition, back with the knights.

The prince of Wales now ſummoning the lords of Aquitaine, imparted to them his deſigns, and his father's orders for their aſſiſtance: they prepared to obey the commands of their ſovereign; but as it was a war to be carried on in a diſtant country, for the benefit of a foreign potentate, and not a ſervice due to their own lord, they deſired to know to whom they were to apply for the uſual ſubſidies. The prince, turning to the Spaniſh king who was preſent, told him, that, as the undertaking was on his account, it lay with him to ſatisfy the lords on this head; he repreſented to him at the ſame time the juſtice of their enquiry, alledging, that though he was willing to aſſiſt him with forces inured to hardſhips, and accuſtomed to conquer, yet it was not within the compaſs of his revenues to pay and provide for ſuch an army, nor could they expect it from him as they were not raiſed for his own ſervice. The Caſtilian readily offered to diſtribute among them all the money he had brought with him, and ſolemnly repeated his promiſes of an ample recompence on the recovery of his kingdom and his treaſure. The prince of Wales approved of his intentions, and, that none of his troops might be diſſatisfied with the ſcantineſs of their preſent allowance, advanced the king a very conſiderable ſum, to be repaid at the ſame time.

The firſt ſtep the prince took to diſtreſs the enemies of his new ally was by recalling all the Engliſh and Gaſcon companions who had enliſted themſelves under the banner of Sir Bertand du Gueſclin, and remained yet in Spain. Sir Hugh Caverly, Sir John Devereux, Sir Matthew Gourney, and other knights who

commanded theſe freebooters, immediately obeyed the ſummons; and ſo much reverence did the whole corps bear to the name of Edward, that they cheerfully followed their leaders, though they were then engaged in a very advantageous employ. As yet Don Henry was unacquainted with the prince's intentions; he therefore granted them paſſports, and ſuffered them to depart. When he was informed of the active part the prince propoſed taking in the cauſe of his adverſary, he treated it with contempt; and had it not been for the advice of the French general Sir Bertrand, who was well acquainted with the activity and irreſiſtible power of the prince of Wales, he would have taken few precautions for his defence.

Before the prince entered on this expedition it was neceſſary to gain the conſent of the king of Navarre for a paſſage through his dominions, which lay between Aquitaine and Caſtile: ſome apprehenſions aroſe of his acquieſcence; for though during the wars between France and England, from a turbulent and fickle diſpoſition, he had always favoured the latter, yet, as he had lately entered into a ſtrict alliance with Don Henry, the prince was apprehenſive of ſome obſtructions from him. But Don Pedro, who during his adverſity was very laviſh of his promiſes, agreeing to reſtore ſeveral towns which he had taken from the king of Navarre, and alſo to pay him immediately fifty-ſix thouſand florins of gold, he conſented to permit the army to paſs through his territories. The repayment of this ſum, which the prince of Wales advanced to ſatisfy the king of Navarre, was the only contract which the perfidious Caſtilian ever performed, and that probably he would have evaded, had he not given a bond for it dated at Libourne near Bourdeaux, 23d September 1366, and left his three daughters as a ſecurity.

Don Pedro at the ſame time, by a deed dated alſo at Libourne, as a perpetual teſtimony of his gratitude, and

and as a laſting monument of his acknowledgments for ſuch ſingular goodneſs extended to him, as well as for the greateſt increaſe of honour he could poſſibly fancy for the prince of Aquitaine and Wales, and for the crown of England (thus it is expreſſed), granted unto king Edward, to the prince his ſon, and to their heirs and ſucceſſors, kings and princes of England for ever, that whenever it ſhould pleaſe any of them to be in perſon at the wars with any king of Caſtile againſt an enemy of the Chriſtian faith, that the ſaid king and his three eldeſt ſons ſhould have the chief command in the van-guard above all other princes in Chriſtendom: and, although at ſuch time neither of them ſhould be there in perſon, yet there ſhould always be provided by the kings of Caſtile, or their ſucceſſors, a ſtandard of the arms of England, to be borne in the ſame place for the honour of that kingdom. He alſo grants in the ſame contract ſome other privileges to the Engliſh, which prove the greatneſs of Don Pedro's obligations.

The prince of Wales now employed all his thoughts to perform with honour the adventure he was engaged in: he was at this time in the flower of his life, being in the thirty-ſixth year of his age, of full ſtrength of body, in perfect health, and of undaunted courage well tempered with experience and diſcretion. How ſad a reverſe did this unfortunate expedition occaſion!

The companions who had obeyed his ſummons amounted to twelve thouſand, and were maintained by him during the winter at an amazing expence; beſides theſe he took into his pay all the valiant men that offered of whatever country. To enable him to do this, he cauſed the greateſt part of his plate to be melted down, and borrowed large ſums from his friends in England. Satisfied with the propriety of his own conduct, he endeavoured to inſpire his lords and knights with favourable ſentiments of the cauſe he had undertaken: with great humanity he buried

the vices of the man in the ſufferings of the king; and perſuaded, according to the deſpotic opinion of all the monarchs of thoſe rude times, that no ſubjects had a right to depoſe their ſovereign, however tyrannical his conduct, much leſs that it became a baſtard brother to uſurp a throne, he was conſcious that his exertions in defence of the baniſhed king were founded on honour and equity.

Whilſt the prince was buſied at Bourdeaux in preparations for the Spaniſh war, the princeſs his conſort was delivered of another ſon, to whom he gave the name of Richard: who afterwards ſucceeded to the throne of England. On the Sunday following, being the tenth of January, the prince of Wales left the city of Bourdeaux with a royal equipage, having ſent the greateſt part of his forces before him, and arrived in the evening at Dax, where he met his brother the duke of Lancaſter, who had landed with his troops in Bretagne, and marched through the provinces of Poictou and Sainctonge.

The princeſs of Wales beheld with ſecret dread this firſt ſeparation from her beloved lord: the weak ſtate ſhe happened at that time to be in added weight to the blow; but the conſideration that an increaſe of glory to her Edward, whoſe renown was dearer to her than life, would be the reward of this abſence, and the pleaſing expectation of ſeeing him return crowned with freſh laurels, baniſhed every complaint. Her ſighs however could not be ſuppreſſed; amidſt all her pomp, anxious apprehenſions would frequently intrude, and for a moment permit tenderneſs to triumph over reaſon. The feelings of the prince were no leſs pungent; but engaged in the cauſe of humanity, and intent on glorious deeds, he ſuffered not even the excitations of love to retard the great purpoſes of his ſoul. Their adieu was uncommonly tender; that of Hector and Andromache, however elegantly deſcribed, could not proclaim with greater energy the ſuſceptible heart or the exalted mind.

After

After the junction of his troops with thoſe of his brother, the prince continued his march towards Caſtile; but, though the king of Navarre had ſolemnly engaged to grant to the Engliſh forces a free paſſage through his kingdom, yet on their approach they found great obſtructions; it was even rumoured that he had declared for the new king of Caſtile. The inconſiſtency of his character rendering this report probable, Sir Thomas Calverley, with ſome of the companions who formed the prince's van, took the town of Puente de Reyna and the city of Miranda, which belonged to him. This induced the king of Navarre to ſend a nobleman to the prince to make his excuſes, which he did with ſo much plauſibility, that the prince ſmothered his reſentment, but inſiſted on his maſter's meeting him to perfect the accommodation. The king was obliged to ſubmit to this degradation, and met the prince of Wales in perſon on the frontiers of his dominions, where, after ſeveral conferences, the laſt treaty was explained and renewed. This being done, he returned to his reſidence in the city of Pampelona, ordered all the avenues of his country to be left open, and commanded his ſubjects to furniſh the Engliſh with proviſions on payment of a reaſonable price for them. The prince's army then continued its march in three diviſions; the firſt commanded by the duke of Lancaſter and lord John Chandos; the ſecond by the prince himſelf and Don Pedro; and the third by James, king of Majorca; in this order they paſſed the Pyrenean mountains, not without incredible difficulties from the ruggedneſs of the roads and the inclemency of the ſeaſon.

Don Henry, king of Caſtile, urged by Sir Bertrand du Gueſclin, had taken every precaution to fruſtrate the attempt of his enemies: by the aſſiſtance of Pedro, king of Arragon, and ſome other neighbouring powers, he was enabled to raiſe an army of one hundred thouſand men, with which he now advanced to meet the prince of Wales, whoſe forces did not amount to one-

one-third of that number. When the armies approached each other, the prince detached a party of one hundred and fifty men at arms, and three hundred ſelect archers, all well mounted, under the command of lord Thomas Felton, to diſcover the poſture of his adverſary; Sir Thomas, having paſſed the river Ebro with great ſecrecy, encamped at Naverret, from whence they frequently rode up to the camp of the Spaniards, with an intent to deſcry their numbers and ſituation. One evening they ventured almoſt to a village which Don Henry had made his head quarters: this boldneſs brought on a ſkirmiſh; but, notwithſtanding Sir Thomas was obliged to retreat, he carried off ſeveral priſoners with him. The next morning he ſent a knight to inform the prince, then at Salvatierra, of his ſucceſs, and the ſtrength of the enemy; at the ſame time he informed him that Don Henry was advancing to meet him, and ſeemed deſirous to come to an engagement. The prince, hearing theſe tidings, ſaid aloud to thoſe about him, "By my faith this baſtard Henry is a valiant knight, his readineſs to to meet us proves him ſo; ſince he is thus diſpoſed, we will not long oppoſe his wiſhes."

He then immediately iſſued orders for marching to Victoria, an advantageous poſt which he thought it neceſſary to ſecure: he was no ſooner arrived than he drew his army in order of battle, and waited with compoſure the attack. To raiſe an emulation among the younger part of his forces, he firſt knighted in the field Don Pedro, and afterwards conferred the ſame honour on ſeveral courageous and hopeful young gentlemen. But Don Henry being well ſupplied with proviſions, and finding that a ſcarcity prevailed among his enemies, he could not be drawn from his camp. The prince, ſeeing there was no poſſibility of procuring ſubſiſtence for his army in his preſent ſituation, marched through the province of Alava till he came to Vienne on the confines of Navarre; where having refreſhed his

his men for two days, he paſſed the Ebro and encamped near Najara. Don Henry, on this movement of the prince, diſlodging from St. Miguel, encamped near him, and a battle now became unavoidable.

The next day, being Saturday the third of April 1367, the Black Prince was ready armed and in the field as ſoon as the morning dawned. As the armies approached each other, with his viſor up, and his hands claſped in a ſupplicating attitude, he addreſſed himſelf to Heaven in a ſhort ejaculation, begging with great humility and fervour the aſſiſtance of that Being, without whoſe aid neither valour nor ſtrength can enſure ſucceſs; after which, laying his right hand on the ſhoulder of Don Pedro who rode by his ſide, he bade him be of good cheer, for that day he truſted would place him again on the throne of Caſtile; he then gave the word for the on-ſet, which was, "Advance banners, in the name of God and St. George."

The diviſion which the prince led attacked with great fury the van of the Spaniards, commanded by the duke of Sancelloni and Don Sancho, the king's brothers; but, not being able to withſtand the impetuous ſhock, they ſoon fled in great diſorder, and opened a way for the Engliſh to reach the main body, which conſiſted of ſixty thouſand men, at the head of whom was Don Henry. The fight now grew deſperate, and was maintained with great bravery by both parties till noon, when victory declared for the Black Prince. Don Henry rallied his men three times, and led them back to the charge with undaunted reſolution, endeavouring each time to arouſe their courage by theſe pathetic remonſtrances: "My lords, I am your king; made ſo by your free choice; and you have ſworn to ſupport me on the throne you have given me: for Heaven's ſake, therefore, be mindful of your promiſes, and acquit yourſelves loyally unto me." Another time would he ſay, "Where is the cou-

rage

rage of thoſe noble Spaniards who, under my father king Alponſo, have ſo often conquered the Moors? Do not now diſgrace your former glory." By theſe and ſimilar expreſſions he inſpired many of his knights with unuſual courage, and they ſacrificed their lives to his ſervice. But the ſuperior fortune of the prince of Wales prevailed: pity that it had not been exerted in a better cauſe, and againſt a leſs-deſerving foe. The Engliſh hero behaved in this battle as he had done in thoſe of Creſſy and Poictiers, with great intrepidity and conſummate prudence: he was always in the hotteſt place of action, and wherever the greateſt ſtreſs lay thither he conſtantly haſtened, carrying with him aſſurance to his friends, and terror to his enemies. When the fight was ended, he cauſed his ſtandard to be erected on a hill to direct his men on their return from the chace: thither, among the other chiefs, came Don Pedro, who alighted from his horſe the moment he ſaw the prince, and to ſhew his gratitude would have proſtrated himſelf before him: but the prince ran haſtily to prevent it, and catching him by hand would not permit him to kneel; then, with that noble humility and unaffected piety which had ever graced his life, he cried, "Kneel not to me, ſir, but pay your thanks to God, and give him all the praiſe, for through him alone, and not by me, have you obtained the victory."

Notwithſtanding this great example, the morning after the battle, Don Pedro, by nature ſavage and blood-thirſty, deſired the prince to deliver to him the duke of Sancelloni, his illegitimate brother, and ſuch other priſoners as were natives of Spain, that he might put them to death. The prince, ſhocked at a propoſal ſo unworthy a truly-brave mind, inſtead of complying with his requeſt, adviſed him rather to grant a general pardon to all his ſubjects, and by that means endeavour to conciliate their minds, than by a continuance of the ſame inhuman conduct that had already

occaſioned their revolt, render his throne ſtill inſecure. Thus was every dictate of this excellent prince's heart conformable to the ſtricteſt rules of genuine heroiſm. By this timely interpoſition he ſaved the lives of many Spaniſh noblemen; from whence a greater ſatisfaction muſt ariſe to a mind like his, than from the victory he had juſt obtained. The Caſtilian king, from the want of power to effect his ſanguinary purpoſes in oppoſition to the prince of Wales, rather than from conviction of the impropriety of ſuch a ſtep, laid aſide his intentions, and pardoned all the priſoners on renewing their oath of allegiance to him.

Nothing now remained to conſummate the prince of Wales's glory: by his exalted proweſs he had atchieved three ſuch enterpriſes as any one ſingly was ſufficient to render his name immortal. Firſt, at the battle of Creſſy, where the whole power of France was broken, two kings ſlain, and a third put to flight, and this at an age before other princes have learned the rudiments of war, or are able to wield a weapon; ſecondly, at the battle of Poictiers, ten years after, when with an inferior force he again overthrew the French, and took their king with all the flower of his nobility priſoners; thirdly, at Najara, as juſt recited, where at one blow he decided the fate of a kingdom; for the Spaniards, terrified at this defeat, voluntarily returned to their duty, and again accepted Don Pedro as their lawful ſovereign. But this laſt exploit, though nothing inferior in honour to the former, was attended with the moſt fatal conſequences; for during his ſtay in Spain in expectation of Don Pedro's fulfilling his promiſes, through the heat of the climate he fell ſick of an incurable diſeaſe, which put an end to his life, after lingering ten years under it.

When the news of the prince's ſucceſs arrived in England, rejoicings equal to thoſe made on his former victories ſpread throughout the land; the city of London in particular celebrated it with great ſolem-

nity, and his royal parents prided themſelves in this accumulation of fame to their favourite ſon. But a different ſcene preſented itſelf in the kingdom of France; unfeigned ſorrow ſat on every brow for the loſs of ſo many of their braveſt countrymen, who having followed the fortunes of Sir Bertrand du Gueſclin were ſlain in the battle: the capture alſo of Sir Bertrand, their redoubted champion, proved a great corroſive to the minds of thoſe who had gloried in his might, and ſet his warlike actions in competition with thoſe of his conqueror.

Don Pedro being thus re-eſtabliſhed on his throne, the prince of Wales put him in mind of the conditions on which he had engaged in his cauſe, entreating him to fulfil them that he might return to Guienne. The Spaniſh king excuſed himſelf for the preſent by pleading his inability, but promiſed to take a progreſs through his kingdom for the purpoſe of raiſing contributions, with which he would repay every obligation to his auxiliaries. The prince was obliged to be ſatisfied with this evaſion, and waited at Valladolid upwards of ſix weeks with a tolerable degree of patience for Don Pedro's promiſed return: at the end of that time he ſent three knights to Seville, where he heard the Spaniſh king then was, to know the reaſon why he had not kept his appointment. They received no greater ſatisfaction; for the king now imputing his delay to the frequent plunders of the companions, which put it out of the power of his ſubjects to aſſiſt him as he expected, deſired the prince to withdraw the whole of his troops from his dominions, only leaving behind him proper perſons to receive the ſtipulated ſums when he ſhould be able to pay them. This at once convinced the prince that he had nothing to expect from him; and he found he had too much reaſon to repent the aſſociating himſelf with a man like Don Pedro, abandoned to all ſenſe of virtue and honour: he ſaw that theſe refuſals proceeded rather

from

from a want of principle than of ability, and was tempted ſometimes to make uſe of force to recover the ſums which were thus unjuſtly withheld from him; but, finding his army daily diminiſhing by ſickneſs, and his own * health greatly impaired by the climate, he was obliged to be content with theſe aſſurances, and to return into Guienne.

At Bourdeaux he was received in triumph; he there met the princeſs and his ſon Edward, now about three years of age; the princeſs's joy was greatly damped by the viſible alteration in her much-loved Edward's health; nor could the increaſe of his glory compenſate for the baneful conſequences with which it was attended: whilſt ſhe welcomed his return with inexpreſſible rapture, the pallid hue which had ſupplanted the glow of health that was wont to inſpire cheerfulneſs, and to excite her love, in an inſtant threw a gloom over her beauteous countenance, and checked every riſing tranſport. From that hour her tender apprehenſions were awakened, and ſhe anticipated that fatal event which ſlowly crept on, and at length overwhelmed not only his amiable conſort, but the whole Engliſh nation, with anguiſh and deſpair.

Soon after his arrival the prince diſbanded his army, and, declaring his obligations to the chiefs for their cheerful and efficacious aſſiſtances, promiſed, as ſoon as he could raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies, to pay them for their ſervices, even though Don Pedro ſhould not fulfil his engagements: "For my own part," continued this generous prince, "honour ſhall be my only reward." The troops, ſatisfied of the punctuality of their beloved general, who had never

* Some authors impute the illneſs of the Black Prince to charms and incantations; others to the unwholeſome air of Spain, or to ſome lingering poiſon: the latter ſuppoſition is not improbable, and it may have been adminiſtered to him by order of the man on whom he had conferred undeſerved favours, but who, inſtigated by ingratitude and his natural cruelty, took this method to acquit himſelf of them.

forfeited his word to them, retired without murmuring; and he aſſigned quarters to the companions till they ſhould receive the ſtipulated pay.

According to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom, he ſoon allowed ſuch of the French and Spaniſh knights as could procure ſufficient ranſom to return to their homes: but Sir Bertrand du Gueſclin, the French champion, who had ſeated Don Henry on the throne of Caſtile, remained a priſoner with the prince ſome time, till an accidental circumſtance procured him that liberty, which neither the offer of a conſiderable ranſom nor the ſolicitations of his friends were able to obtain. The prince, who treated all his priſoners with great affability, converſing one day with this general ſaid, "How does your ſpirit brook this confinement, Sir Bertrand?" "Very well, ſir," returned the knight; "how can I be diſſatisfied, ſince I am in the hands of the moſt generous prince living, and made priſoner by the moſt renowned knight in the world?" "Lord John Chandos is indeed ſo," anſwered the prince; "but, though it is no diſhonour to be conquered by a gallant man, what comfort have you in being detained, when moſt of your countrymen are ranſomed?" "Oh, ſir," replied Sir Bertrand, "I have this comfort; it is reported both in France and Spain, that your highneſs ſtands ſo much in fear of me that you dare not let me go, which muſt needs redound to the honour of ſo mean a knight as I am." The prince knew well to what end theſe ſubtile expreſſions tended; he alſo remembered that his whole council had been unanimous in adviſing him to reject every offer of ranſom for ſo formidable an enemy, till Don Pedro had paid the money ſo long promiſed, fearing he might again embroil the affairs of Spain, and put that king out of a capacity of paying: he was however of too great a ſpirit to bear this inſinuation, though prudence urged the neceſſity of his being detained. To convince him therefore that he was ſupe-

rior to his bravado, and let him see that his restoration to liberty depended on himself, he told him he would immediately consent to his ransom if he chose it; at the same time, to combat him with his own weapons, he resolved to ask such a sum as he could not easily raise: he consequently made him this reply: "Then, sir, it seems you imagine we detain you here through dread of your prowess and chivalry; but think not so, Sir Knight, for I swear by St. George, on payment of one hundred thousand franks you shall be immediately free." "Agreed, sir," returned the general, "and I thank you for the honour of rating me so high." The prince would not recede from what he had said, though his council would have persuaded him to break his promise; and Sir Bertrand, by the assistance of the French king, the duke of Anjou, and Don Henry, having raised in less than a month the sum agreed, which amounted to ten thousand pounds sterling, was released from his imprisonment.

Don Henry, no longer dreading the prince of Wales's potent arm, collected his scattered troops, and removed into the kingdom of Arragon, where he renewed his alliance with that king, who promised to aid him in the recovery of the throne he had been driven from. The unparalleled cruelties exercised by Don Pedro over his helpless subjects, whom he now regarded as vanquished rebels, revived all the animosity of the Castilians against him. Don Henry took advantage of this renewed dissatisfaction, and assisted by the king of Arragon, and Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who immediately on his release had raised a considerable body of French and marched to his aid, he sought out his opponent. A battle ensued, in which Don Pedro was defeated; and, retiring with difficulty from the field, threw himself with a few troops into the castle of Montreal, whither his victorious brother followed him and laid siege to the castle.

Don

Don Pedro, finding that from a ſcarcity of proviſions he ſhould not be able to hold out long, reſolved to attempt an eſcape: accordingly about the hour of midnight, accompanied only by twelve perſons, he iſſued out in great ſilence, and was favoured by the darkneſs of the night. He however had not proceeded far before Sir Bertrand du Gueſclin, who had foreſeen this attempt, and was therefore the more watchful, alarmed the guard on hearing the trampling of horſes; ruſhing immediately into the road from whence the ſound proceeded, he laid hold of the bridle of the firſt horſe he met, which happened to be Don Pedro's, telling him that he was a dead man if he offered to move on. The Spaniſh king, then diſcovering himſelf, endeavoured to corrupt the fidelity of the French knight, by a promiſe of two hundred thouſand crowns of gold if he would permit him to eſcape; but Sir Bertrand, faithful to the cauſe he had eſpouſed, ſecured the king with all his train, and carried him to his tent.

He had not been long there before Don Henry, attended by the duke of Rochebreton, and ſome other noblemen, came in: as Don Henry entered, he cried aloud, "Where is this ſon of a whore the Jew, who calls himſelf king of Caſtile?" Don Pedro could not contain himſelf at this inſult, but boldly replied, "'Tis thou that art the ſon of a whore, and I the legitimate ſon of king Alphonſo:" at the ſame time ſeizing Don Henry, he threw him upon a bench, and with his dagger would certainly have ſlain him, had not lord Rochebreton laid hold of Don Pedro's leg and turned him on his back, thus expreſſing himſelf, "I neither make king, nor mar king." Don Henry, recovering himſelf by this timely aſſiſtance, drew out a long knife and plunged it into his brother's heart, ſo that he inſtantly died. Thus fell Don Pedro, and king Henry in conſequence became fully eſtabliſhed on the throne of Caſtile. The deſcendants

of

of the former however, after ſome time, re-aſcended it; for Henry, grandſon of Don Henry, taking to wife the princeſs Catharine, ſole daughter and heireſs of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, by his ſecond wife Conſtance, eldeſt daughter of king Pedro, the families became united, and he reigned as the true and lawful king of Caſtile and Leon.

The death of Don Pedro put an end to every expectation of thoſe ſums of money being paid, which he was indebted to the forces who had regained him his crown. The prince of Wales, however, more faithful to his promiſe, and tenacious of his honour, fully recompenſed all thoſe who had ſerved him in that expedition; but, in order to do this, he was obliged to load his ſubjects with taxes; this gave them ſuch diſguſt, that many of them threw themſelves into the arms of their ancient ſovereign the king of France: and, unable from his ill health to oppoſe them in perſon, he had the vexation to ſee a great part of his late-acquired dominions torn from him. Agreeable to the advice of his council, he endeavoured to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies by a fouage, or a tax on all chimneys throughout his principality: the ſum impoſed on each chimney was a livre, which it was ſuppoſed would produce about twelve hundred thouſand livres per annum; but this was fruſtrated bythe oppoſition many of the lords made to it: thoſe who lived near his court, and were immediately expoſed to his reſentment, ſubmitted to it, though with extreme reluctance; whilſt others abſolutely refuſed compliance. All the prince's amiable qualities were not ſufficient to mitigate or aſſuage the animoſity which was revived on this account in the breaſt of the inhabitants of Aquitaine againſt the Engliſh. The counts of Armagnac, of Perigort, and of Comignes, the lord d'Albert, and ſome other nobles, withdrew themſelves to Paris, carrying their complaints to Charles the French king, as their lord paramount, againſt theſe oppreſſions.

The

The king of France had now, by his prudence, brought the affairs of his kingdom into excellent order; but he thought it yet too ſoon to break with the Engliſh: he therefore for ſome time refuſed to grant their petitions, or to interfere in their diſputes. He was however at length prevailed on to re-aſſume the ſovereignty over thoſe dominions which had been given up by the treaty of Bretigny; and they even perſuaded him to ſummon the prince of Wales to make his perſonal appearance before him at Paris, there to juſtify his conduct towards his vaſſals. Many circumſtances conſpired to bring the French monarch to this determination: the mortal injuries his kingdom had received from the Engliſh, the pride of their triumphs, and the ſevere terms impoſed by the treaty of peace, ſeemed to call for every prudent method of retaliation: he at the ſame time conſidered the declining years of king Edward, the languiſhing ſtate of the prince of Wales's health, the affection which the inhabitants of theſe provinces bore to their former maſters, the animoſity his ſubjects in general expreſſed againſt their invaders, and their ardent deſire of revenge; all theſe conſiderations contributed to procure his exertion in favour of the Gaſcon lords, as a prelude to more important movements.

Before the French king agreed to ſummon the Black Prince, he thought it good policy to endeavour by ſome means or other to get over his brother the duke of Berry, and the reſt of the noblemen who were ſtill detained in England, as hoſtages for the remainder of his late father's ranſom. Accordingly the duke, having received a private hint from Charles of his intentions, obtained leave of the Engliſh monarch to return home to recreate himſelf among his friends and relations for one year. King Edward, from the unwarlike character of Charles, could not be convinced, even by the repeated informations of his ſon the prince of Wales, that he had any deſigns of commencing hoſtilities;

lities; he therefore freely granted the duke of Berry permiſſion to return to France on his parole of honour, for the time requeſted. This, as pre-concerted, he paid no regard to; and the lord Guy of Luxembourg, count de St. Pol, alſo an inveterate enemy to the Engliſh nation, found means by much ſubtlety to get away without leave.

The Black Prince was greatly diſpleaſed at the oppoſition he met with in raiſing the new tax; and, to ſhew his diſdain of thoſe noblemen who had retired in diſguſt, he proceeded to exact it with a high hand on their diſtricts: but, on receiving the ſummons from the French king, his diſpleaſure was more highly excited. The conqueror of France could not brook ſo public an inſult from a perſon, who but a few years before had quitted the field with precipitation at his approach. The only anſwer therefore he returned to the meſſengers who delivered it was, "That he would readily viſit Paris, ſince he was thus invited, but it ſhould be at the head of ſixty thouſand men." This threat, however, he was never enabled to put in execution, for being ſoon after ſo far reduced by the fatal diſtemper which preyed on his vitals, that he could not ſit on horſeback, his own troops were greatly diſmayed, and his enemies inſpired with freſh courage. The king of France no ſooner received this indignant meſſage, and with it a true ſtate of the prince's declining health, than he ſecretly made preparations for war: the firſt ſtep he took was to diſpatch the count d'Armagnac, the lord d'Albert, and the other rebellious Gaſcon lords, with a ſtrong body of forces, to endeavour to recover their own demeſnes, which the prince of Wales had taken poſſeſſion of on their retreat: at the ſame time he gave orders to his brother the duke of Anjou, who lay at Thouloufe, to aſſiſt theſe lords in a private manner, without throwing aſide the maſk of amity. They accordingly made an inroad into Rovergne, and took ſeveral places; but

the vigilance of the prince of Wales, who had thrown ſtrong garriſons into all the fortreſſes of his dominions, prevented the lords from making any great progreſs.

King Charles now finding the plan of his propoſed vengeance ripe for execution, ſent off a defiance to the king of England, and, to load it with a greater degree of inſult, ordered it to be delivered to him by one of the loweſt officers of his houſhold. Before king Edward could receive intelligence of his deſign, the French king got poſſeſſion of Ponthieu, the burghers of the city of Abbeville having treacherouſly opened their gates to him, and ſet an example which the whole province followed. The Engliſh monarch, at length aroufed from the lethargy out of which his ſon had ſo often in vain endeavoured to awake him, made the neceſſary preparations for ſecuring the reſt of his territories in France: incenſed at this deceitful conduct of the French king, he threatened to put to death all the hoſtages who remained in his hands; but, liſtening on reflection to the dictates of humanity, he abſtained from ſuch ungenerous revenge. To ſhew his adverſary how much he reſented this unexepected breach of the late treaty, he re-aſſumed the ſtyle and dignity of king of France; and, laying aſide his uſual ſeal, made uſe of others, whereon were quartered the arms of England and France, and inſcribed alternately, EDVARDUS, ANGLIÆ ET FRANCIÆ REX; or FRANCIÆ ET ANGLIÆ REX.

In the mean time the dukes of Berry and Anjou, aſſiſted by Sir Bertrand du Gueſclin, who was on this occaſion recalled from Spain, invaded the dominions of the Black Prince in France. In a few weeks ſixty towns and fortreſſes ſubmitted to the obedience of the French king without any reſiſtance, through the treachery of the inhabitants, excited by the clergy, and protected by the forces under the command of the two dukes. The Engliſh with the prince of Wales were

were too inconſiderable in number to prevent this defection; but king Edward ſending expeditiouſly a conſiderable body of troops to the prince's aid, under his ſon Edmund of Langley, earl of Cambridge, and his ſon-in-law John Haſtings, earl of Pembroke, he was enabled to make ſome head againſt them. Many ſkirmiſhes happened between the contending parties, in which ſucceſs ſometimes crowned one ſide, ſometimes the other; but the prince of Wales being confined by his diſorder at Angouleſme, and his troops divided to defend the different fortreſſes, the Engliſh commanders choſe not to hazard a general engagement.

The king of France during this time was employed in the northern parts of his kingdom: he ſpent the beginning of the year at Harfleur, in equipping a fleet to invade England, with a formidable army under the conduct of his brother Philip, the duke of Burgundy; but after all his preparations he was obliged to lay this expedition aſide to repel the Engliſh, who were retaliating his intentions upon him. The duke of Lancaſter, having landed at Calais with a conſiderable body of troops, made ſuch inroads into France, and committed ſuch depredations, that the French king ordered his men of war to be laid up, and directed his brother to lead his forces towards Picardy, to ſtop the progreſs of the Engliſh arms: he accordingly encamped oppoſite them near St. Omers, and, though he was greatly ſuperior in numbers, yet he refuſed to give them battle; for the king his brother remembering that in ſome former actions ſuperiority had not availed, he prudently commanded the duke to avoid a deciſive engagement. The Engliſh prince, judging it raſhneſs to attack the French in their trenches againſt ſuch odds, drew up his army in order of battle for ſeveral days, and contented himſelf with thus ſetting them at defiance. The armies in the ſouthern parts confined themſelves to ſieges, taking and retaking

towns and caſtles from each other; and in this manner they were employed for ſeveral campaigns, during which nothing more than the uſual occurrences happened, except the loſs of two gallant knights, which befel the prince of Wales about this time.

The lord James Audeley, who had behaved with ſo much bravery at the battle of Poictiers, and on many other occaſions, being bereaved by ſickneſs of his ſon Sir James Audeley, a hopeful young gentleman, he deſired leave of the prince to retire to England. The prince conſented, but with great reluctance; for, though his lordſhip's eminent ſervices demanded this indulgence, he could not ſuffer ſo uſeful and beloved a nobleman to leave him without feeling the extremeſt regret.

Lord John Chandos, who equalled lord Audeley in merit, being appointed ſeneſchal of Poictou on the reſignation of that noblemen, he took every opportunity of annoying the French. Returning one day from an expedition againſt them, ſlightly attended, he fell in unexpectedly with a party of the enemy, and a ſharp encounter enſued, in which with his own hand he ſlew ſeveral French knights; it was early in the morning, and, the ground happening to be ſlippery, lord Chandos ſtriking violently at one of his adverſaries, whom he killed on the ſpot, his ſword broke in his hand, and he ſlid and fell down; before he could recover himſelf he was attacked by ſeveral of the enemy at once, who in the moſt cowardly manner fell upon him while he was down, and one of them running the point of a ſpear through the viſor juſt under his eye, he ſunk under the fatal blow, and after a few ſtruggles, ſhewed no ſymptoms of life. Sir Edward Clifford, who was near at hand, haſtened to his aid; but, though he arrived too late, yet he valiantly defended the body of his friend, killed at one ſtroke of his lance the cowardly aſſaſſin, and put the reſt to flight. After the action was over, Sir Edward, perceiving ſigns

ſigns of life in the wounded knight, cauſed him to be carefully diſarmed, and to be borne ſoftly on the ſhields of his men to a neighbouring fortreſs, where, notwithſtanding every aſſiſtance, he expired the next day in great agonies. The prince of Wales and all the Engliſh ſincerely lamented the loſs of this brave nobleman: even the king of France, his enemy, is ſaid to have greatly grieved at his death, remarking, that there was not a perſon living ſo likely to have renewed peace between the two crowns as lord John Chandos, he being greatly valued by king Edward, and univerſally eſteemed and beloved. No knight ever acquired greater renown, either for valour or judicious conduct: in the battles of Creſſy, of Poictiers, of Najara, and all the other actions in which he had a ſhare, none behaved more gallantly, or maintained with greater firmneſs the Engliſh name; at the ſame time he poſſeſſed ſo much candour and impartiality, as never to deny his enemies their juſt praiſe; with ſuch prudence and moderation, that before a battle he never contemned them, and when they were conquered he never inſolently triumphed over them: in war he was a rigid exacter of diſcipline, but in peace courteous and affable. To ſum up his character, being on the firſt liſt of knights of the garter, he ſupported the dignity of that inſtitution, by obſerving his vows with the utmoſt punctuality, and preſerving his honour unſpotted. To ſhew the reſpect he bore the Black Prince, (to whoſe excellencies no one nearer approached than himſelf,) he left him all his poſſeſſions in Normandy, the yearly revenues of which amounted to forty thouſand franks, or four thouſand pounds ſterling.

After the death of lord Chandos, whoſe courage and vigilance had hitherto kept them in awe, ſome other barons of Gaſcoigne and Poictou fell from their allegiance to the Engliſh goverment. The prince of Wales through his illneſs being unable to exert himſelf,

ſelf, this defection every day increaſed to his great mortification: his mighty ſoul began to bend beneath the weight of his diſeaſed body, and his name no longer appeared tremendous to his enemies; but ſtill his troops frequently gave proofs that their invincible ſpirit was not diminiſhed. The companions on the Engliſh ſide having taken the caſtle of Belle Peche, belonging to Lewis duke of Bourbon, they found therein the lady his mother, whom they made priſoner in expectation of receiving a conſiderable ranſom for her. The duke hearing of this was ſo incenſed, that he left Paris, where he then reſided, and haſtened to her relief, reſolving not to leave the caſtle till he had regained poſſeſſion of it: for this purpoſe he raiſed a conſiderable army, and being reinforced by the lord of Sancerre, a marſhal of France, with a large body of troops, he laid ſiege to it. In order to reduce the place more at his leiſure, and to ſecure his men from the inclemency of the ſeaſon, for it was now winter, he built a ſtrong fortreſs near the caſtle, encompaſſed it by a ditch, and defended it with towers. Inſtead of artillery, the uſe of which was then but little known, the duke erected enormous engines, with which he caſt huge ſtones and pieces of timber into the caſtle. Theſe operations ſo affrighted the mother of the duke of Bourbon that ſhe ſent to him, deſiring he would forbear the uſe of thoſe horrid weapons, which ſtruck her and female attendants with ſo much terror. The duke, ſuppoſing that the ducheſs was excited by his enemies to make this demand for their own eaſe, refuſed to comply with her requeſt.

The companions at length, finding themſeves greatly ſtraitened, applied to the prince of Wales for ſuccour, who immediately ordered his brother the earl of Cambridge to march to their relief. The earl, attended by lord Pembroke, lord John Montague, and many other knights, raiſed as many forces as he was able, but ſtill was greatly inferior to the

French;

French: with this small army he encamped for fifteen days opposite the duke of Bourbon, who lay within his fortifications, not daring, though so superior, to attack the English. The duke even sent to collect a greater power, and received considerable reinforcements; notwithstanding which he still continued on the defensive.

The earl of Cambridge thereon sent a herald with a defiance to the duke, wherein he informed him, that, if he did not come out of his trenches and give him battle, he was resolved, the third day from that, to set the lady of Bourbon on horseback, and convey her away before their faces in the middle of the day. The duke still not choosing to hazard an engagement, on the day appointed the English general drew up his forces in order of battle early in the morning, and commanded the trumpets to be sounded in token of defiance: after waiting in the field some hours, he ordered a march to be sounded: the companions then joined him, a free communication having always been preserved between the castle and the camp, bringing with them all their valuable effects, and the lady of Bourbon mounted on a palfrey richly caparisoned, attended by her ladies and servants. When the castle was demolished, the English marched from before it in sight of the duke of Bourbon and the French army, without the least molestation; so great was the dread they still entertained of the English arms.

The companions took the duchess of Bourbon with them to a fortress which they held in the Limosin, where she remained a prisoner. The prince of Wales, naturally gallant and humane, was greatly displeased with the confinement of the duchess; he said, "He waged not war against women:" however, as the companions were under less restraint than regular troops, and subsisted by their plunder, he could not take her out of their hands. But this saying being reported to them, they agreed to set her at liberty; and,

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to ſhew that their determination proceeded from reſpect to the prince, they aſked no other ranſom for her than Sir Simon Burleigh, an Engliſh knight, then a priſoner with the French, for whom they knew the prince entertained a great affection. This offer was accepted with great readineſs by the duke of Bourbon; and the prince of Wales had the ſatisfaction to ſee, from this incident, how greatly he was beloved by all his dependents.

A further inſtance of the great impreſſion Engliſh valour had made on the minds of the French, and of their extreme reluctance to meet them in the field, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of their numbers, happened the ſame year. Sir Robert Knowles marched out of Calais with thirty thouſand men, and paſſing through part of Artois and Champaigne, waſting and ravaging the country as he proceeded, ſuddenly before the gates of Paris: the French king was then in that city; but, though ſurrounded by a court compoſed of many gallant chevaliers and a very conſiderable army, he could not prevail on himſelf to aſſiſt his diſtreſſed ſubjects. Sir Robert ſtaid before the city two days; and notwithſtanding the king could diſcern from his palace the deſtruction of his conntry, the Engliſh burning all before them to provoke him to a battle, yet his extreme caution prevailed, and he ſuffered them to proceed without moleſtation. However, diſſentions at length ariſing among the Engliſh, and ſome of the lords under Sir Robert, who diſdained to be governed by a perſon of inferior rank, growing diſobedient to his commands, they ſeparated themſelves from him. Thus weakened, Sir Robert was unable to penetrate into Guienne as he intended, but was obliged to take ſhelter in Brittany, where thoſe who had continued under his conduct arrived ſafe, whilſt thoſe who had withdrawn themſelves from his protection became a prey to their enemies.

The following ſummer the dukes of Anjou and Berry attacked the principality of Aquitaine in two places at once, each with a formidable army, intending to meet and beſiege the prince of Wales in his reſidence, the city of Angouleſme. The prince hearing of their intentions ſummoned all his forces, and, ill as he was, publicly declared that his enemies ſhould never find him immured in any fortreſs, but that he would meet them in the field and fight them fairly, however formidable their forces: in conſequence of this reſolution he took leave of his lady the princeſs, who now parted from him with greater reluctance than ever, having none of thoſe pleaſing hopes to conſole her which had been her ſupport when he departed from her on his expedition to Spain: then he went from her in health and vigour, with aſſurances of ſucceſs, and with the greateſt probability of acquiring additional renown; but now ſhe could call none of thoſe cheering expectations to her aid: his weak frame deprived him of that fire which uſed to animate his troops and enſure them victory conſequently dejection, unallayed by hope, preyed on her ſuſceptible heart, and cauſed her unceaſingly to mourn the abſence of her lord.

The prince having ſet up his ſtandard at Cogniac, thoſe who retained their loyalty reſorted to it; and, receiving at the ſame time a reinforcement from his royal father under the command of the duke of Lancaſter, he was once more enabled to take the field, with a proſpect of repelling the invaders of his dominions. In the interim, the duke of Anjou penetrated without controul to La Linde, ſituated on the river Dordonne, about a league from Bergerac. The town was commanded by Sir Thomas Battefoile, a knight of Gaſcoigne, with a ſtrong garriſon, and every thing neceſſary for its defence. The duke laid ſiege to it, and to intimidate the inhabitants declared, he would not leave the place till he had them at his devotion; but at the

ſame he offered to receive them under his protection, if they would ſubmit themſelves without force to his mercy. The people of the town wiſhed to follow the example of their neighbours, and to return to their former ſovereigns the French; they therefore admitted emiſſaries from the duke, who prevailed on the governor by a conſiderable ſum then paid him, and the promiſe of an annual penſion, to deliver up the town. This agreement had not been kept ſo ſecret, but that ſome of the knights who retained their loyalty to the prince of Wales gained intelligence of it, and informed the earl of Cambridge, then at Bergerac, of the intended treachery, the night before it was to be carried into execution. Enraged at the diſloyalty of the governor, the earl, the lord Thomas Felton, and Sir John Greilly, Captal de Buſche, ſwore they would be preſent at the delivery of the town: accordingly before it was light they ſet out from Bergerac, and by break of day reached La Linde. On a ſignal given, a gate was opened to them by the loyal part of the troops in the town, through which they marched with their forces, and arrived at the oppoſite gate as the French were about to take poſſeſſion of it. Sir Thomas Battefoile ſtood amazed at this ſudden appearance of the knights, and wondered how they could have received intelligence of his deſign; but Sir John Crielly gave him not time to indulge his conjectures long, for alighting from his horſe he came up to him, and with one blow of his ſword ſtruck him breathleſs to the ground. The party of the French who were to have taken poſſeſſion of the town, finding their plot diſcovered, haſtily withdrew from the gate and fled to their army. The Engliſh lords judged it more prudent to ſecure the town than to purſue them; which being done, they were inclined to put all the inhabitants to the ſword for their treacherous conduct, but on their alledging that they were over-awed, and compelled by the governor to

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act as they had done, they were pardoned. The lord Felton and the Captal de Buſche ſtaid in the town till the duke of Anjou, hearing of the prince of Wales's approach, thought it prudent to retire.

A council was now called by the French general, at which Sir Bertrand du Gueſclin, afterwards ſtyled the reſtorer of France, was preſent, to deliberate whether they ſhould give battle to the Black Prince: ſome alledged, that his health was ſo impaired that he was only the ſhadow of himſelf, and not to be dreaded as formerly; but the greater part, and among thoſe Sir Bertrand, aſſerted, that even the preſence of ſuch a general in the field was of great importance, and carried courage, if not fortune, with it; they therefore thought it would not be prudent to withſtand the laſt efforts of his expiring vigour, but rather to wait till his diſorder ſhould rid them of ſo formidable an enemy. This advice prevailed; and, after ſupplying the places he had taken with ſtrong garriſons, the duke of Anjou marched to join his brother the duke of Berry, who, having entered the prince's territories by another part, lay before Limoges. This city had been ſtrongly fortified by the prince of Wales; and, having great confidence in the biſhop, who lay under the higheſt obligations to him, he had left but a few Engliſh in the garriſon. But the prelate, forgetful of the favours he had received, entered into a treaty with the gallic dukes; and, having firſt induced the inhabitants to declare for the French, they overpowered the garriſon, and delivered up the city. The French princes, after ſtaying a few days to refreſh their men, left a ſtrong body of troops behind them, and divided their armies for the defence of the towns they held.

When the Black Prince heard of this tranſaction he was greatly exaſperated, and with difficulty could he prevail on himſelf to credit the falſhood of the biſhop, to whom he had ever behaved with unfeigned complacence: but, knowing the importance of the city

of Limoges, he determined to recover it at all events. He firſt ſent his heralds to the inhabitants, commanding them to deliver the biſhop up to him, and, acknowledging the impropriety of their conduct, to return to their duty. The citizens, however, finding themſelves encompaſſed with ſtrong fortifications, abundantly ſupplied with proviſions, and ſupported by a numerous garriſon, treated the prince's commands with contempt. The prince now ſent them a meſſage in a harſher ſtrain; he aſſured them, that, if they did not immediately ſubmit to him, he would come in perſon againſt them, and, having raſed their city to the ground, put to the ſword every inhabitant without diſtinction. Encouraged by the commanders of the garriſon, the burghers not only refuſed to take the meſſage into conſideration, but affronted his heralds, and ſet him at defiance. This being reported to the prince, he was ſo enraged at it, that he ſwore by the ſoul of his father that he would take vengeance on the inſolent rebels, and make them dearly repent their falſhood. He thereon marched haſtily from Cogniac with a conſiderable force, accompanied by his brothers the duke of Lancaſter and the earl of Cambridge, with many other lords. When the prince began his march, he was ſo debilitated that he could not ride on horſeback, but was drawn in an open chariot: being arrived before Limoges, he again vowed never to return till he had the city at his mercy; ſo much was his noble mind, unuſed to diſſimulation or falſhood, irritated by the treacherous conduct of the biſhop, and of a city towards which he had always behaved with the greateſt lenity and good will. The biſhop and burghers ſeeing the prince thus determined, began to repent of their treaſon; but they were now no longer maſters of the city, the garriſon placed there by the duke of Anjou holding them in ſubjection.

The Black Prince finding that the enemy, driven to deſperation by his threats, were reſolved to defend them-

themſelves to the laſt extremity, concluded it would be too hazardous an undertaking to ſtorm the place in its preſent ſtate; he therefore thought it neceſſary firſt to undermine the walls, for which purpoſe he had brought with him a number of pioneers. Whilſt he was thus employed, Sir Bertrand du Gueſclin made an inroad into his dominions, and committed great devaſtations; but the prince would not be diverted from the enterpriſe he was engaged in. The engineers in about a month having made a conſiderable breach in the wall, the prince ordered it to be ſtormed, determined, agreeable to his former reſolution, to put both the garriſon and inhabitants to the ſword without exception, to deter others from the like perfidy and ingratitude. Accordingly his troops entered the breach, and, beating down the gates and barriers with their axes, began to execute their commander's intended vengeance. A ſelect body, commiſſioned by the prince for that ſervice, haſtened to the biſhop's palace to ſecure him: when he was brought before his highneſs, he beheld him with the utmoſt indignation, and, notwithſtanding all his ſupplications for mercy, made him no other anſwer than to aſſure him he ſhould loſe his head.

The three chief commanders of garriſon, when they found the Engliſh gave no quarter, exhorted each other to ſell their lives as dearly as poſſible; and, drawing together a few choſen men, they placed themſelves in an advantageous ſituation, with their banners diſplayed, reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt. They were immediately attacked by the duke of Lancaſter and the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke, who in the true ſpirit of chivalry, that they might engage on equal terms, alighted from their horſes, that theſe mighty chiefs might decide the fate of the citizens by ſingle combat. They withdrew to a place properly ſuited for this heroic engagement, in the face of the armies, where the conteſt was maintained on both

both ſides with ſo much gallantry and courage, that the Black Prince drew near to behold them. He was ſo great an admirer of martial atchievements, and ſo charmed with the ſkill and valour of his adverſaries, that in the moment that one of the French commanders was overcome, and another on the point of being run through by the duke of Lancaſter's ſword, he commanded the combat to ceaſe, and that no more ſlaughter ſhould be made in the city, and that all who were then engaged ſhould not ſuffer beyond the law of arms. The French knights upon this delivered up their ſwords to their antagoniſts, and were received as their priſoners; but, though the lives of the remaining citizens were ſaved, yet the city was given up to plunder, and was burnt and levelled to the ground.

The biſhop had many friends among the Engliſh, particularly the duke of Lancaſter, who, artfully pretending to be his enemy, prevailed on the Black Prince his brother, to deliver him into his hands, and to leave the execution of his ſentence to him: this being granted, the duke ſent privately to pope Urban the fifth, who was juſt returning from Italy to Avignon, informing him of the biſhop's danger, and that a letter from his holineſs in his behalf, directed to himſelf, might prove beneficial to him. The pope took the hint, and immediately wrote to the duke, deſiring him, in reverence to the apoſtolic ſee, to procure a pardon for the biſhop and ſend him to Avignon. The duke of Lancaſter ſhewed the letter to the prince his brother, who acknowledged that the pope's requeſt ought to be granted; but, remembering the provocation he had received, he could not help wiſhing that his brother had not delayed the execution ſo long.

After the reduction of Limoges, the prince and his army returned with their ſpoil and priſoners to Cogniac, where the princeſs met him with a mixture of

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pain and pleaſure: the ſucceſs which had attended his arms gave her ſatisfaction, but her ſoul was tortured when ſhe beheld the haſty ſteps of the grim tyrant to rob her of all ſhe held dear: to obſerve the ſecret venom, for which no antidote could be found, gradually waſting that grace and dignity which had once attracted the admiration of the whole world, gave her inexpreſſible pangs. She however ſtrove to aſſume a cheerful countenance, and imitate, in ſome degree, the magnanimity of her Edward. He beheld the uplifted dart of death with the ſame undauntedneſs he had often met thoſe of his foes in battle, and felt no apprehenſions but ſuch as were occaſioned by a reluctance to part from the woman he loved, and from friends whom he reſpected.

The winter now approaching, he permitted the greater part of his forces to retire to their quarters; and this proved the laſt warlike exploit of this renowned prince. About this time he was pleaſed to expreſs his love for his brother the Duke of Lancaſter, by granting him the town and caſtle of La Roche ſur Yon. The inſtrument bears date the eighth of October 1370, wherein the prince is ſtyled Edward, eldeſt ſon of the king of France and of England, prince of Aquitaine and of Wales, duke of Cornwall, earl of Cheſter, lord of Biſcay and of the caſtle of Ordiales. Appendant is his ſeal of green wax, on which he is repreſented in his robes, ſitting on a throne, with a circle on his head, and a ſcepter in his right hand, as prince of Aquitaine: on each ſide are two oſtrich feathers and ſcrols, whereon are the words ICH DIEN, and over which are the letters E. P. viz. Edvardus Princeps. On the reverſe he is figured on horſeback, his ſurcoat, ſhield, and the capariſon of his horſe, charged with the arms of France and England: the inſcription round the ſeal is in Saxon characters after the manner of the age, viz. S. EDVARDI PRIMOGENITI REGIS ANGL.

PRINCIPIS AQUITAINÆ ET WALLIÆ, DUCIS CORNUBIÆ ET COMITIS CESTRIÆ.

In the beginning of the year 1371, it was judged neceſſary by the prince of Wales's phyſicians, that he ſhould try the efficacy of his native air on his decaying conſtitution; he prepared to ſet ſail for England. The command of the fleet appointed for his convoy he gave to his brother the earl of Cambridge, and left the duke of Lancaſter to ſucceed him in the government of his principality. Before his departure he ſummoned all the barons and knights of Gaſcoigné and Poictou that retained their loyalty, and took his leave of them in the moſt pathetic and friendly manner; he conjured them, by that attention to their intereſt which he had unceaſingly ſhewn during a reſidence of ten years, by that courteſy and friendſhip with which he had always treated them, and by that duty which they owed him as their lord, to continue ſtedfaſt in their fidelity; he deſired they would cheerfully transfer the reſpectful homage they had ever paid him to his brother the duke of Lancaſter, and unite in oppoſing the common enemy; then in a ſoftened tone of voice, and with a graceful air, in which dignity and affection were mingled, giving way to the effuſions of his humane and princely heart, he concluded with benevolent wiſhes for their welfare, and aſſurances of his continued regard. His whole court were moved with this ſolemn adieu, which the prince's viſible decline gave too ſure a proſpect of being an eternal one: with one voice the barons aſſured them of their loyalty, and to confirm their vows did fealty and homage in his preſence to the duke his repreſentative. This done, his highneſs embarked at Bourdeaux in January, with the princeſs and their ſon Richard, and arrived at Plymouth in a few days.

The prince was conveyed in a litter to Windſor, where King Edward then held his court: he was there received with great affection by his royal parents, whoſe

whose hearts felt unutterable pangs at the sad reverse they now beheld. Instead of the blooming son they had parted with but a few years before, full of health and crowned with glory, to receive again to their arms only a faint resemblance of him, forced by the fell destroyer to relinquish those territories he had bravely won, was one of fate's severest strokes, and probably hastened queen Philippa's death, which happened shortly after. Had he died on the bed of honour they would not have repined; but thus to fall by a lingering disease, perhaps by perfidy, excited even murmurs. He soon after retired to his palace at Berkhampstead, and from the salubrity of the air recovered a small degree of health: but the accounts he frequently received from Aquitaine of the success of the French, and the increasing spirit of defection among his Gascon nobles (for, since his departure, many who had given him assurances of their loyalty had been either intimidated or seduced from their allegiance), gave him continual vexation, and retarded his recovery.

A great part of those who remained faithful to him being pent up in Thoüars by Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, and seeing no possibility of withstanding that general, they agreed to surrender themselves prisoners if they were not succoured by a certain time: a cessation of arms accordingly took place, when they gave the prince of Wales intelligence of their capitulation, and desired some assistance. King Edward, exasperated at this reverse of fortune, and unwilling to have the laurels he had gathered in his youth blasted on his hoary brow, fitted out a formidable fleet and raised a large army, determined not only to relieve his Gascon subjects, but to carry his arms into the dominions of his enemy. The Black Prince, though still weak and emaciated, resolved to accompany his father; his great soul would not submit to the infirmities of the body, or suffer him to remain inactive while glorious deeds were to be atchieved. It was the latter end of August

before the neceſſary preparations could be made, when this armament ſailed for Rochelle; but, the winds proving contrary, it was kept at ſea ſix weeks without being able to make that port. The king now found that, however flattering fortune may be for a while, ſhe often proves fickle and inconſtant even to her greateſt favourites. In all the affairs of life, though the tide for a time flows ſmoothly, and the gale proves favourable, yet a reflux may be expected, and adverſe ſtorms will ſurely ariſe. During the proſperous part of his reign, Edward was quickly wafted to the ſhore where ſucceſs and glory awaited his arrival; but, the tide once turned, in vain he ſtrove to reach his more ſucceſsful enemies, who in their turns now enjoyed the ſmiles of the deluding goddeſs. There being no poſſibility of arriving in time to prevent the ſurrender of his ſubjects, agreeable to the convention, he ſailed back, and in a few days re-landed his troops in England. The conſequence of this unhappy voyage was the loſs of all Poictou and Sanctonge.

The prince of Wales now ſeeing that it was hardly poſſible for him to recover any tolerable degree of health, ſo as to be enabled to take the field, he ſurrendered into his father's hands his principality of Aquitaine, which from that time the king governed by lieutenants. He now retired to his eſtate in Hertfordſhire, and the four ſucceeding years, for ſo long was his exiſtence continued to him, took very little ſhare in the national concerns. The preparatory ſteps for ſecuring the crown to his ſon Richard on the demiſe of his grandfather, chiefly employed his attention. The prince of Wales's ſickneſs was no leſs fatal to the kingdom than to himſelf; for the king, in his old age, ſeemed to have loſt all thoſe virtues, which, in his younger years, gained him the character of one of the braveſt and wiſeſt monarchs of the age: the decline of his life correſponded not with the ſplendid ſcenes which had graced the former periods of it; beſides

fides beholding the loſs of his foreign dominions, the fruits of many a well-fought field, and being unſucceſsful in every attempt to defend them, he felt the decay of his authority at home. During the vigour of his age the purſuits of war and ambition had employed his thoughts; but now at an unſeaſonable time of life he began to indulge himſelf in pleaſure. The queen being dead, he attached himſelf to dame Alice Piers, a lady of great ſenſe and high ſpirit; by theſe ſhe acquired ſuch influence over his majeſty, that the whole kingdom were diſguſted at it; and, in order to ſilence the remonſtrances of his parliament, he found it neceſſary to remove her from court. The indolence alſo naturally attendant on old age and infirmities had made him in a great meaſure reſign the adminiſtration into the hands of the duke of Lancaſter, who was far from being popular, and therefore greatly weakened that affection which the people had hitherto borne to the perſon and government of Edward. The prince of Wales ſaw with regret theſe diſorders, but was incapable of finding a remedy for them: the aſpiring diſpoſition of his brother, now augmented by the king's inattention to the affairs of government, made him apprehenſive for his ſon's ſucceſſion, notwithſtanding the ſteps he had taken for his ſecurity: he however founded his hopes on the ſuperior love of the nation for himſelf, and truſted that it would extend to his offſpring.

After languiſhing for more than ten years, the prince's diſorder at length turned to a calenture or burning fever, which put an end to his life on the 8th of June 1376, in the forty-ſixth year of his age. Excluſive of his heroic actions, nothing can give poſterity a juſter idea of his worth and virtue than the general lamentation which ſucceeded his untimely death, and the earneſt deſire of every rank that the ſon of ſo great a father might ſit on the throne of his anceſtors. Both houſes of parliament paid all imaginable

reſpect to his memory; they unanimouſly requeſted leave to attend his funeral to Canterbury; and, to manifeſt the affection they bore him, their firſt deliberations after his death were employed in making a proper proviſion for his ſon, and confirming the ſucceſſion to him. The king himſelf was no leſs affected at this melancholy event; and though he had already experienced the loſs of ſeveral of his children, ſome of them even in the bloom of life, particularly the duke of Clarence his ſecond ſon, on this occaſion he was much more ſenſibly grieved. But amidſt this univerſal ſorrow, that of the princeſs was the moſt ſevere: notwithſtanding death had made ſuch ſlow advances, and his conqueſt had long been certain, yet, when the fatal hour arrived that was to level to the duſt the man whom ſhe loved with unabating ardour, her fortitude forſook her, and ſhe bewailed his loſs with all the ſoftneſs of her ſex.

Never was a tribute of grief more juſtly paid than to this deſerving prince, who, from the earlieſt period of his life to the hour of his diſſolution, excelled in all thoſe virtues and accompliſhments which entitled him to the character of a great and good man. In private life he enjoyed, in an eminent degree, all thoſe qualifications that enabled him to perform every ſocial duty; and ſo greatly was he beloved by thoſe whom he honoured with his friendſhip, that the lord Greilly, captal de Buſche, at that time a priſoner in France, bemoaned his loſs in ſo a ſingular manner, that his death, which happened ſoon after that of his royal maſter, is ſuppoſed to have proceeded from his exceſs of grief.

As a prince, he was adorned with all thoſe ſhining qualities which caſt a luſtre on his exalted ſtation: his turn of mind was exactly ſuited to that propenſity for martial deeds which was ſo much the taſte of the age in which he lived; but though he commanded armies, and gained unparalleled victories, when others begin to learn the art of war, yet his mind was not elated with conqueſt.

conqueſt. His valour and military talents, great as they were, formed the ſmalleſt part of his merit; his generoſity, humanity, affability and moderation, gained him the approbation of the whole world; and the moſt ſhining of ancient and modern hiſtory never produced a character in which ſo many virtues centered untinged by any vices. Though deſervedly renowned for wiſdom, juſtice, and liberality, the chief of all his mental accompliſhments were humility and piety; from theſe he derived that fortitude and reſolution which enabled him to brave unnumbered foes, whilſt they induced him to aſcribe to Omnipotence the glory of all his actions. Walſingham, an old hiſtorian of credit, thus emphatically writes of him: "The good fortune of England, as if it had been inherent in his perſon, flouriſhed in his health, languiſhed in his ſickneſs, and expired at his death; with whom died all the hope of Engliſhmen. During his life they feared no invaſion of the enemy, nor encounter in battle; for he aſſailed no nation but he overcame, and beſieged no city that he did not take."

The prince's body, after being embalmed, lay ſeveral days in ſtate; an infinite number of all ranks flocked to pay their laſt ſad homage to their beloved prince, whilſt every eye or tongue proclaimed the affectionate emotions of their hearts, and the greatneſs of that merit which called forth ſuch univerſal encomiums. It was then carried in a ſtately hearſe drawn by twelve horſes (the whole court and both houſes of parliament attending in mourning) through the city to Canterbury cathedral, where it was interred with great funeral pomp. Charles, the French king, in the true ſpirit of noble gallantry which adorned that age, though an enemy, diſtinguiſhed alſo the prince's exalted merit, by performing his obſequies with great ſolemnity at Paris, attended by all the principal peers and prelates of his realm.

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A magnificent monument of grey marble was ſhortly after erected over his grave, on which lies his portraiture made of copper gilt: the tomb is in excellent preſervation, decorated with eſcutcheons of copper enamelled, with his arms and devices; on an iron bar over it are placed an helmet, a coat of mail, and gauntlets; and on a pillar adjoining is a ſhield richly diapered with gold: the real armour he is ſaid to have uſed in battle. But this ſumptous monument has no other epitaph than the following lines in old French, and ſome monkiſh verſes in the ſame language, which ſerve only to put the reader in remembrance of the common fate of human greatneſs, without enumerating any of the virtues or glorious deeds of this great prince, which the occaſion ſo particularly demanded: "*Cy giſt le noble Prince Monſieur Edward, aiſnez Filz du tres noble Roy Edward Tiers, jadis Prince d'Aquitain & de Galles, Duc de Cornwaille, & Compte de Ceſtre; qui moruſt en la feſte de la Trinité, queſtoit le* viii. *jour de Juin, l'an de grace mil trois cenz ſeptante ſiſne. L'Alme de qui Dieu eit mercie, Amen.*" Thus tranſlated: "Here lieth the noble prince the lord Edward, eldeſt ſon of the moſt noble king Edward the third, late prince of Aquitaine and of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter; who died on the feaſt of Trinity, which was on the eighth day of June, in the year of grace one thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-ſix. On whoſe ſoul God have mercy, Amen." The verſes are too contemptible for inſertion. This ſhews the low ebb of learning at that period: it was not till the fifteenth century, when the art of printing was firſt brought into England, that literature began to flouriſh, or that the Engliſh language was reduced to any degree of purity: before that time a barbarous French or Latin were made uſe of in all records and public deeds.

King Edward ſurvived his heroic ſon about ten months, expiring in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-firſt of his reign. His grand wiſh had

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ever been to leave the poſſeſſion of a throne he had filled ſo long, and with ſo much dignity, to ſo worthy a ſucceſſor; but, being diſappointed, he ſeemed to live without any comfort, or the leaſt enjoyment of life. England was thus deprived at once of two princes, its chief ornaments and ſupport; and the people were now ſenſible of the irreparable loſs they had ſuſtained.

The reign of Edward III. was not only one of the longeſt, but alſo the moſt glorious, which occurs in the annals of this nation: his victories over the French place his name foremoſt among the Engliſh heroes, and cauſe it to deſcend with renown to poſterity. The domeſtic goverment of this prince is no leſs worthy of commemoration, and proves that he was poſſeſſed of all thoſe eminent talents which are neceſſary both for a legiſlator and a warrior. The turbulence of the great barons being curbed, the parliament during his reign roſe into greater conſideration, and acquired a more regular authority, than in any former times; and king Edward took no ſteps of moment without conſulting them, and obtaining their approbation. A prince of ſo much ſenſe and ſpirit as Edward, and who had humbled the ſuperior power of France, could not ſubmit to the tyrranny of the court of Rome; he conſequently much abridged the papal uſurpation over his kingdom, notwithſtanding it had been ſo long eſtabliſhed, in common with other ſtates.

Theſe encomiums proceed from a contemplation of the general tenor of his reign, whilſt yet his mind was in its vigour, and before he became incapacitated by age from acting with prudence and reſolution. The latter days of this monarch (as before obſerved) were not unclouded: had his ſun ſet with its meridian ſplendor, his regal character would have been unblemiſhed; but was it to be expected from ſo long a reign? the brighteſt geniuſſes are the ſooneſt exhauſted; and the greater the exertion of the mental faculties the quicker their decay. He was not however ſo inſenſible to the

the public intereſt, but that he ſincerely lamented the loſs of his godlike ſon; and whilſt he ſunk under the blow, felt both for his people and himſelf. His ſubjects alſo reſpected him even amidſt his failings; the remembrance of his former prudent conduct, and the glories of his reign, ſuppreſſed for a time their murmurs; nor was it till his imprudencies became pernicious to the kingdom, that they made any vigorous oppoſition to them. But how degrading a reverſe to his former glory did this great prince experience in his laſt moments! Some time before his death he had removed from his palace at Eltham to Sheen in Surrey, that he might indulge uninterrupted the infatuation which he had ſuffered to overwhelm him, and enjoy, without reſtraint, the company of his favourite miſtreſs. The fatigues of his youth having greatly impaired his conſtitution, the infirmities of age came upon him before they were to be expected from the common courſe of nature; enervated alſo by indolence and riot, to which he was unaccuſtomed, but which he encouraged to obliterate his grief, a malignant fever, the fatal conſequence, found him an eaſy prey, and ſoon put an end to his exiſtence. When his diſorder became ſo violent as to leave no hope of his recovery, all his attendants forſook him; even Alice herſelf, on whom he had laviſhed his favours with ſo profuſe a hand, and for whoſe ſake he had incurred the diſpleaſure of his people, even the faithleſs Alice, before he could be inſenſible of her ingratitude, ſhewed on how weak a foundation the fabric of her boaſted love had been reared. Whilſt he was yet in the agonies of death, with the utmoſt coolneſs ſhe ſtript him of his rings and jewels, leaving him without one domeſtic to cloſe his eyes, or to do the laſt ſad offices to his breathleſs corſe. The retired manner in which he had lately lived, ſecluded from his nobles and the principal officers of his houſhold, could alone have rendered this treatment practicable. Thus bereft of comfort and

assistance, and in a condition to which very few even of the meanest of his subjects were ever reduced, the mighty Edward lay expiring, when a priest, urged by humanity and the duty of his profession, approached his bed: perceiving him still to breathe, he began to administer some spiritual comfort to him, and for a while detained his lingering soul, till, having expressed a deep sense of sorrow and contrition for the errors of his life, he died pronouncing the name of his Saviour. How obscure the exit of a prince whose reign had been the most brilliant of any monarch that had ever swayed the sceptre of England! Was it possible to conceive his feelings when he found himself thus abandoned, and reduced to a situation so extreme from what he had ever been accustomed to! how humiliating must we suppose them to be! nor would they afford a less instructive lecture on the vanity of human greatness than those of the wisest of kings.

King Edward's posterity by his queen, Philippa of Hainault, were numerous, and disgraced not their royal parents: the eldest of them was Edward the Black Prince, whose glorious actions and virtues have been here recorded; his second son (for such as died in their infancy are unnoticed) was Lionel duke of Clarence, who of all the family resembled most his father and eldest brother in their noble qualities. By Elizabeth, daughter and heiress to the earl of Ulster, he left one princess, who was afterwards married to Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, and from whom king Edward IV. was lineally descended. The third of this illustrious progeny was John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, whose son seized on the English throne, and reigned under the title of Henry the fourth. Edmund, created earl of Cambridge by his father, and some years after duke of York by his nephew Richard the second, was the next of this royal family; and Thomas duke of Gloucester, the fifth and last. King Edward had also four daughters, for all of whom their father found suitable matches.

King Edward the third was undoubtedly one of the greateſt princes that ever ſwayed the ſceptre of England; whether we reſpect him as a warrior or lawgiver, a monarch, or a man. He poſſeſſed the courage and romantic ſpirit of Alexander; the penetration, the fortitude, the poliſhed manners, of Julius; the magnificence, the liberality, the wiſdom of Auguſtus Cæſar. He was tall, majeſtic, finely ſhaped, with a piercing eye, and aquiline viſage. He excelled all his contemporaries in feats of arms and perſonal addreſs. He was courteous, affable, and eloquent; of a free deportment, and agreeable converſation; and had the art of commanding the affection of his ſubjects without ſeeming to ſolicit popularity. He was a noble and conſtitutional knight; and his example diffuſed the ſpirit of chivalry through the whole nation. In imitation of the youthful monarch, who delighted in tilts and tournaments, every individual betook himſelf to the exerciſe of arms, every breaſt glowed with emulation, every heart panted with the thirſt of glory; and when he took the field, there was not a ſoldier in the army who did not ſerve from ſentiment, and fight for reputation. The love of glory was certainly the predominant paſſion of Edward, to the gratification of which he did not ſcruple to ſacrifice the feelings of humanity, the lives of his ſubjects, and the intereſt of his country; and nothing could have induced or enabled his people to bear the load of taxes with which they were encumbered in his reign, but the love and admiration of his perſon, the fame of his victories, and the excellent laws and regulations, which the parliament enacted with his advice and concurrence.

Before we proceed to enter upon the reign of his grandſon Richard the ſecond, it will be neceſſary to inform our readers of ſome circumſtances which occurred during this long and glorious reign, which could not be introduced in the order of time in which they happened, without breaking the thread of the narrative.

Numerous

Numerous are the inſtances which occur, of the care taken by Edward III. to maintain to England the ſovereignty of the ſurrounding ſeas; particularly in the peace made with king John of France, wherein Edward renounces all title to Normandy, but expreſsly reſerves to himſelf all the iſlands dependent thereupon, that he might preſerve his juriſdiction of the ſea entire. In his commiſſions alſo to admirals, and inferior officers, he frequently ſtiles himſelf ſovereign of the Engliſh ſeas, aſſerting, that he derived this title from his progenitors. His parliaments likewiſe, in the preambles to their bills, aſſert, that it was a thing notorious to foreign nations, that the king of England, in right of his crown, was ſovereign of the ſeas.

In November 1349, a ſquadron of Spaniſh or Caſtilian ſhips ſailed up the Garonne; and, in violation of the peace at that time ſubſiſting between England and Spain, ſeized on ſeveral Engliſh ſhips in the harbour of Bourdeaux, freighted with wine; after having inhumanly murdered the ſeamen, they made prizes of the ſhips. Edward was not a monarch diſpoſed to paſs by ſuch a flagrant outrage; he, therefore, immediately prepared for an ample revenge. Having intelligence that a ſquadron of Spaniſh ſhips, richly laden, were on the point of returning to Flanders, he drew together a fleet of fifty ſail, at Sandwich, on board of which he embarked in perſon, with the prince of Wales, the earls of Lancaſter, Northampton, Warwick, Saliſbury, Huntingdon, Arundel, and Glouceſter, with many other perſons of diſtinction. They came within ſight of the Spaniſh fleet on the coaſt of Suſſex, near Winchelſea: it conſiſted of forty-four large carracks, which the writers of thoſe times deſcribe as huge floating caſtles, greatly ſuperior to the Engliſh ſhips. The attack was begun by the Engliſh with great fury, whilſt the Spaniards defended themſelves as reſolutely; and, when overpowered, refuſed quarter when offered them, preferring death

to bondage. Twenty-four of these ships, richly laden, were brought into the English harbours; the rest, with difficulty, escaped. To perpetuate the memory of this victory, the king caused a gold medal to be struck, on which he was represented standing in the midst of a ship, with his sword drawn, with this inscription: *The Avenger of Merchants.* Before this decisive battle, the Spaniards, or Castilians, seemed to threaten no less than the total destruction of the English navy. To such a pitch of arrogance had this power arisen, that we find by a proclamation issued by Edward the third, which is preserved in Rymer's Fœdera, that they "aspired to reign masters of the English seas, and even threatened to invade and subdue the kingdom." But the language of Spain was hereupon quite changed, being reduced to sue for a truce, instead of menacing conquest. By this truce, which was to continue for twenty years, the fishermen of Castile and Biscay were permitted to fish in the havens of England and Bretagne, paying the customary duties.

The prosecuting continental wars, however, not only exhausted the state, but, drove the king to such necessities, that he thrice pawned his crown: first in the seventeenth year of his reign, beyond the seas; again in the twenty-fourth, to Sir John Wasenham, another merchant; and again in the thirtieth year of his reign, to the same person; in whose hands it then lay eight years, through the king's inability to redeem it.

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END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.